THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

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EDITORIAL

EVEN THOUGH MENNONITISM HAS HAD A RICH and fruitful history of more than four hundred years, the scientific study of its history, its thought and its life is of comparatively recent date. For more than a generation, however, earnest scholars have devoted themselves to the reconstruction of the thrilling story of the origins, the growth and the development of this movement. Therefore, despite the enormous amount of work which still remains to be done both on the European and the American sides, it is at least possible to say that the writing of Mennonite history is well begun.

There are numerous approaches to the study of Mennonite life, however, which as yet remain almost wholly unexplored. The brief reference to the Amish and the Mennonites in O. E. Baker, "The Rural Family and its Significance to Organized Religion" in *The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin*, No. 43 (New York, June, 1939), is highly suggestive of possibilities in the sociological approach. The REVIEW is happy, therefore, to present in this issue a study of the radio and its use among the Mennonites of Indiana and Michigan. This study by President Ernest E. Miller of Goshen College is a splendid illustration of a type of research which can be applied in the study of a variety of questions in practically every Mennonite community.

THE MENNONITE PALATINATE CENSUS LISTS, BEGUN in January, are continued in the present issue of the REVIEW. The present issue also contains the concluding instalment of Robert Friedmann's splendid article on Anabaptism and Pietism. Dr. Friedmann, formerly of Vienna, is at present a Research Fellow of Goshen College. For editorial comment on his study see the April issue.

Guy F. Hershberger.

THE
Mennonite Quarterly
Review

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 3

THE USE OF THE RADIO AMONG THE MENNONITES OF THE INDIANA-MICHIGAN CONFERENCE

By Ernest E. Miller

The total number of Mennonites in the United States is about 125,000, subdivided into two major and a dozen minor groups. The largest of these, known as The Mennonite Church, and sometimes referred to as the Old Mennonites, has a membership of 51,000 in the United States. The present study concerns the membership of this group residing in the states of Indiana and Michigan. The members of this group in these two states form one conference and number approximately 5,500 baptized members, distributed in thirty-three congregations. The majority, however, live in northern Indiana.

A distinctive feature of the Mennonites is their literal interpretation of the Bible, and associated with this, their emphasis on nonconformity to the world. They have, as a group, been reticent to use readily new inventions, join new associations, or associate freely with outside groups lest their influence cause them to become like the world. They hesitated in the use of the telephone and the automobile when these articles were first put on the market. The radio likewise caused some stir, and many ministers were opposed to the members of their congregations buying them. In instances, they preached

against their use from the pulpit. The Virginia conference, consisting of some 3,000 members, has legislation prohibiting the use of the radio. However, no other conference of the Old Mennonites in America, or Canada, has taken any such official action. Among the ministry there is wide disagreement, some holding that the influence of the radio is so bad that members should have nothing to do with it, while others again use it for broadcasting purposes.

In making the present study the writer used the questionnaire method. Since the Indiana-Michigan conference has a strong central organization, he felt it best to secure the co-operation of its executive committee in the study. He accordingly approached the secretary, Ira Johns, about the matter in December, 1938, and after some further explanations were made through correspondence, the conference executive committee, in a letter through the secretary, dated February 12, 1939, said: "We are agreed to help you in whatever way we can." The writer wishes to acknowledge the great help of Ira Johns in collecting through the church pastors the list of members owning radios, in making valuable suggestions on the content of the questionnaire and in encouraging ministers and others to co-operate in the project.

To secure a mailing list for the questionnaire, Johns sent a letter to the pastors of all the thirty-three congregations, asking them to make lists of their members owning radios. It was suggested that no special inquiry be made by pastors to ascertain whether certain persons actually did own radios lest individuals be prejudiced against responding to the questionnaire on the ground that the pastor was trying to pry unduly into their affairs. It was felt that pastors would probably know their members well enough to make reasonably accurate lists without inquiry. This fact is mentioned because the returns on the questionnaire were not as high as they should have been and it is possible that some names were wrongly placed on the list. The writer, however, has had no way of checking this. Twenty-five out of thirty-three pastors responded to the request, returning the names and addresses of 552 radio users. The writer sent a copy of the questionnaire to each of these persons and when the results were summarized and tabulated, 105 replies had been received. In addition to the questionnaire sent to radio owners, a special questionnaire was also sent to the ministers of the conference. The object of the special questionnaire was to gather supplementary data,

mostly in the form of opinions, which might help in a better interpretation of the effect of the radio upon the Mennonite people. Fifty copies of this special sheet for ministers were mailed out and thirty-five replies were received. The questionnaire as mailed out to the radio users follows:

1. How long have you had a radio in your home?
2. How many members in your family?
3. Approximately how many hours a day is your radio in use? Morning? Afternoon? Evening?
4. Please list below in the order of your preference the six radio programs you or your family like best.
5. Please list below several programs which you do not like. You may give your reasons if you care to.
6. Do you use any of the radio devotional periods in connection with your own or your family worship? If so, which ones?
7. When a radio speaker offers a prayer what is your attitude? Please check one of the three. a. Reverent silence. b. Not concerned. c. We keep on working or talking.
8. Have you ever tried to secure prizes in any radio contest?
9. Have you been led to buy any special products advertised over the radio? If so, what?
10. Almost all radio stations fill up their forenoon programs with what are called "sketches". These are of a great variety but deal with people in love affairs, people who are sick, people in exciting adventures, etc. Please indicate below some of these you recall having listened to within the past few weeks.
11. Please list below what you feel are the advantages and disadvantages of having a radio in your home.
12. Indicate whether you listen to the following thirty-one programs. In each case please check one of the columns: a. We listen regularly. b. We listen sometimes. c. We listen not at all.

The return of replies on the general questionnaire was only twenty per cent, and on the one for ministers seventy per cent. The result is a bit disappointing. The writer had hoped that with the official backing of the conference executive committee, a larger per cent would respond. It may be said, however, that questionnaires are a new thing for Mennonite people and it is likely that some were afraid that the evidence gathered might in some way be used against them. The writer feels that this is so because the more intelligent radio listeners of the group quite readily sent in their answers regardless of whether they were in sympathy with the radio or against it. In the formulation of the questionnaire, an attempt was made, of course, not to indicate any bias, and it was also stated that persons

need not sign their names. Interestingly, only two out of the 105 returns were without signature and the following note attached to one reply indicates that in at least one pastor's opinion the writer did succeed in constructing an unbiased questionnaire.

> I was made to wonder what you think of the radio. I could detect nothing in your letter or questionnaire that indicated whether you had a conviction on the use of the radio being either right or wrong. I understand why you would want it to be so in order to get an accurate opinion of radio users. Yet in spite of this, your convictions will come out in your thesis or at least they should and will color your writing and I sincerely hope your influence will go against the use of the radio as it is used today.

The writer had the questionnaires mailed out from the office of the general treasurer of the Mennonite mission board at Elkhart because clerical help was available there, and also because mailing them in mission board envelopes saved considerable postage. This may have influenced some folks not to reply lest their answers be used to provide data for a money drive to support the mission work of the church.[1] Self-addressed reply envelopes with postage paid might also have insured a greater response, but the writer unfortunately felt is impossible to provide that. The replies, it may however be said, do represent a wide geographical distribution and may therefore be considered a fair sampling of the larger group.

The data obtained from the questionnaire have been carefully tabulated and the facts, together with certain explanations, will now be presented. This will be done by taking up the different questions in the same order as they appear on the questionnaire. The first interesting discovery was the number of radios found to be in use in the Mennonite homes of Indiana and Michigan. Out of a total of thirty-three congregations, twenty-five churches sent in lists, containing a total of 552 names. This came as a surprise, since leading men of the conference had estimated the number of families owning radios as from 150 to 300 only. Since not all the churches responded, it seems safe to conclude that between 550 and 600

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[1] Ira Johns, the conference secretary, in a letter dated April 3, 1940, writing in relation to the possible poor return, said: "I feel now it was a mistake to send out the questionnaires in the mission board envelopes. People at once jump to the conclusion that the mission board was doing this. I got one letter that said that 'Next the board will want to know what kind of car we drive, where we go, when we go, why we go, what we did there, how long it took to go, and how much gas it took.' Too bad that people take such attitudes. I think there was an explanation made in all the churches east of Goshen yesterday. I explained it in our own church and now they are sorry they did not take it more seriously."

Mennonite homes of the conference district have radios, and since the average number in the families of those reporting equals 4.7, it seems probable that approximately 2,500 persons are directly affected by its use.

1. *How long have you had a radio in your home?*

The replies to this question, reveal that the first family in the list of 105 has had its radio for seventeen years. This means that it was purchased in 1923. Only a few purchases, however, were made before 1929, and in that year about ten per cent of the total of 105 radios were purchased. The rate of purchase has been fairly normal since then, reaching its highest peak, however, in the last two years. The length of possession for the 105 users averages about six years, although this figure is not particularly significant. It is more significant that the rise in the number of radios among Mennonites practically parallels that for the country as a whole.

2. *How many members in your family?*

As stated in an earlier paragraph, the average number of persons for each family reporting stands at 4.7. Only two replies report radios used by one person only; almost all are for family radios. Twenty-six, or one-fourth of the total, report only two members in the family. How far this data is an index of the decreasing size of Mennonite families would make an interesting subject for further study. There were only four families with ten or more members. Of significance to us here, however, is the fact that the total number of persons touched by this survey is 493.

3. *Approximately how many hours a day is your radio in use?*

This question asked the owners to indicate the time separately for morning, afternoon and evening. Morning seems to be the most popular time for using the radio, all but four on the list reporting its use during that time, while twenty-six gave no report under afternoon and eighteen did not indicate using it at any time during the evening. The number of hours listed in daily use during the three periods totals 153.5 for the morning, 112.5 for the afternoon, and 115.5 for the evening, or a total daily use by all those reporting of 381.5 hours. Recalling that the total number of persons affected by the survey is 493, it means that each of these persons on the average listens for 46.5 minutes. This section also reveals that the longer periods of listening are in the morning and afternoon. This probably

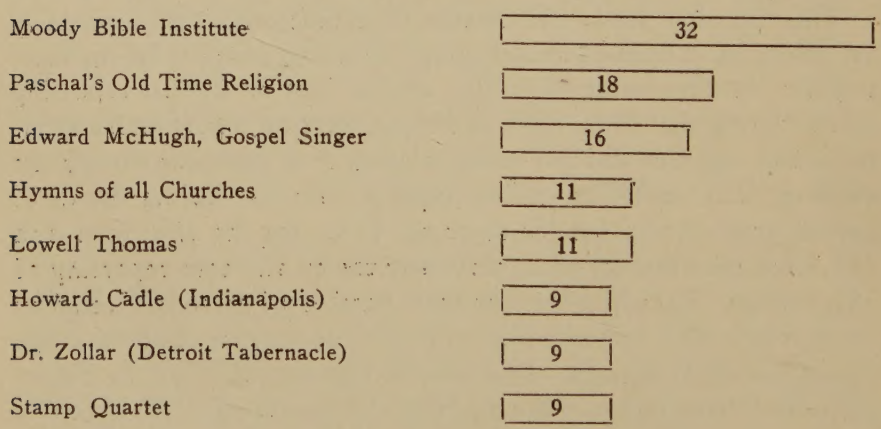
means that housewives, while doing their work, have the radio turned on a good part of the time.

4. *Please list below in the order of your preference the six radio programs you or your family like best.*

The results received in reply to this question are extremely interesting, although they have been a bit difficult to tabulate due to the words "in the order of your preference." A total of 168 different programs was listed in the six spaces by the 105 replies. This again indicates the large variety of programs now available, but when the index of preference is taken into account, the scope of first choice was limited to forty different programs; second choice to forty-seven; third choice to forty-eight; fourth choice to forty-four; fifth choice to sixty-one; and sixth choice to thirty-six.

Of more significance, however, is the total picture of choice revealed. Graph I on this and the next page indicates the total number of favorable votes in the replies, regardless of whether the program was listed first, second, third, etc., order of preference. The scale block indicates the relative importance of the different programs and the figures indicate the actual number of votes given for each. The choice for religious programs, sacred music and news, is outstanding. The great preference indicated for Moody's and Paschal's programs should be of interest to church leaders. Although the ready availability of these two programs and their consequent good reception likely have something to do with their popularity, still they probably represent the type of program most acceptable to the

GRAPH I: PROGRAMS PREFERRED BY RADIO USERS



News Reports	8
Dr. Holland (Little Brown Church)	8
One Man's Family	7
Ford Sunday Evening Hour	7
Wings Over Jordan	6
Morning Devotions	6
Bachelor's Children	5
Ft. Wayne Gospel Temple	5
Symphony Orchestra	5
Uncle John's Prophetic News Flashes	5
Smile a While	4
Lum and Abner	4
Asbury College	4
National Farm & Home Hour	4
Firestone Hour	4
Northwestern Railroad (Classical)	3
Church by the Side of the Road	3
Gospel Sunshine Hour	3
Ft. Wayne Tabernacle	3
Concordia College	3
Hour of Charm	3
Major Bowes	3
Amos and Andy	3
New York Philharmonic Concert	3
Lone Ranger	3
Business Men's Religious Program	3

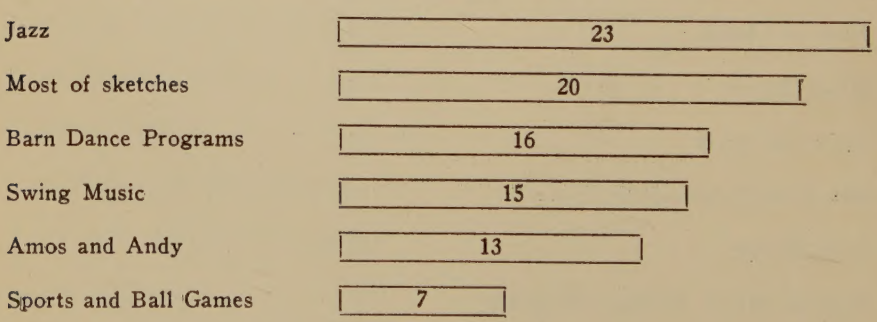
listeners. For the radio, like the newspaper, being a commercial article, gives the public what it most desires. To an extent, of course, these programs are also determinators of religious thinking. In either case, church leaders might well acquaint themselves with their content.

5. *Please list below several programs which you do not like. You may give your reasons if you care to.*

Here the variety of programs listed was not so large. In fact, sixteen listed no dislikes at all. This is naturally so since a dislike of any program means that it is not purposefully dialed and so tends to be forgotten. The disliked programs are shown graphically in Graph II below, together with the number of the votes they received. It is a bit difficult to feel that the large vote against the "sketches" represents a real dislike, since the answers to question ten reveal that about fifty per cent of the listeners are sufficiently familiar with these sketches to have recalled definite programs they themselves listen to. These replies have probably been colored with a feeling of what they consider they should like. As regards other points, the results of these items cross-check well with the other items of the questionnaire.

Some of the reasons given for the dislikes are: "silly love affairs are disquieting;" "jazz music is too heathenish;" "gangbusters is too blood-curdling;" "sketches cheapen love and sorrow;" "Christian Science, Father Coughlin, and Amy McPherson are misleading people;" "Amos and Andy are too trifling and have poor business ethics;" "Charlie McCarthy is ridiculous and gives absurd foolishness."

GRAPH II: PROGRAMS DISLIKED BY RADIO USERS



Programs Adv. Cigarettes	6
Charlie McCarthy	6
Gangbusters	5
Love and Crime Drama	5
Rudy Vallee	5
Tom Mix Straight Shooters	5
"Silly Love Affairs"	4
Lum and Abner	4
Lone Ranger	3
Uncle Ezra	3
Theater Programs	2
Programs Adv. Liquor	2
Dance Music	2
Sketches Involving Murder	2
Opera Singing	2
Jack Armstrong	2
Mary and Bob True Stories	2
Kitty Keene	2
Kate Smith Hour	2
Burns and Allen	1
Benny Goodman	1
Johnny Presents (Ph. Morris)	1
Dr. Fosdick	1
Father Coughlin	1
Christian Science	1

6. *Do you use any of the radio devotional periods in connection with your own or your family worship? If so, which ones?*

Out of the total number, there are only seven families which use any of the devotional periods. Some of the reasons for not using the periods are: a. They do not come at the proper time. b. Substitution would be detrimental to the spiritual life of the family. Many indicate that they do listen at times, but not as a part of their regular devotional period. The programs listed as being used for this purpose, are: Asbury College, Paschal and Moody programs, Church by the side of the Road, Back Home Hour, and Howard Cadle. It is significant that only a few families really use the radio devotionals as a part of their own family worship and it speaks well for the group in this that they prefer to conduct their own worship programs when so many radio programs are available.

7. *When a radio speaker offers a prayer, what is your attitude? Please check one of the three*: a. *Reverent silence.* b. *Not concerned.* c. *We keep on working or talking.*

Out of the total, fifty-two checked "reverent silence"; thirteen "not concerned"; while thirty-five admitted that they continued working or talking. This leaves five as not having checked at all. They can probably be classified with the third group. Some of those checking the item "reverent silence" wrote qualifying words on the margin such as "mostly," "partly," or "would like to." It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that fifty per cent of the listeners do not in any active sense, enter into the proceedings of worship although it is in a real sense going on in their presence, and having their radios tuned in, they have become a willful part of the conductor's worship service. This is significant and important in its possibility of developing incorrect attitudes toward such a vital element in worship as prayer. Might these attitudes develop into habits making it difficult for children later to enter actively and sincerely into any audible public prayer?

8. *Have you ever tried to secure prizes in any radio contest?*

In reply to this, sixty-six answered straight "no," while thirty-nine admitted that once or so they had tried to win something. The questionnaire asked for no explanation and interestingly no one inserted any. Seemingly, no one was anxious to pass on any of his experiences in this connection. It may be pointed out that the radio prize offers are not likely to be as tempting as those offered in

newspapers and magazines, where pictures and headlines help to strengthen the emotional appeal. The coming of television may, however, alter this.

9. *Have you been led to buy any special products advertised over the radio? If so, what?*

In reply to this question fifty-three persons, or fifty per cent of the total, replied that they did not buy any special products because of radio advertising. Those who were influenced gave the items in the list below as things they purchased. This list indicates the great variety of products now advertised over the radio and also that this advertising is not without effect.

Alka Seltzer
Aspirin
Borax
Breakfast foods
Brushes
Calox Bath Powder
Campbell's Soup
Chick feed
Clothing
Cocoa
Dr. Caldwell's Syrup
Drene Shampoo
Foley's Tar Honey
Garden seeds
Gold Medal Flour
Horlick's Milk
Ironized Yeast
Ivory Soap
Kitchen Cleanser
Kitchen Tested Flour
Korn Kix
La France Soap
Lava Soap
Linex Varnish
Lux Soap
Malt-O-Meal
Nursery stock
Old Dutch Cleanser
Ovaltine
Peruna
Pet Milk
Pinex
Religious books
Rinso and Oxydol
Royal Pudding
Shaving cream
Shrubbery
Sinose
Soft a Silk Cake Flour
Strawberries
Tenderleaf Tea
Wheaties

10. *Almost all radio stations fill up their forenoon programs with what are called "sketches." These are of a great variety but deal with people in love affairs, people who are sick, people in exciting adventures, etc. Please indicate below some of these you recall having listened to within the past few weeks.*

It is significant that fifty-six owners report that their families do not listen to any sketches. Among the sketch titles reported, the ones in the list below received more than one vote. Altogether fifty-six different titles were listed. This indicates the great variety of this type of program. An interesting question for further investigation would be to determine how far these sketches have any effect

on cheapening love or the ties of family life. The writer is not familiar enough with these programs to have any definite opinion on that matter. With adults, however, the total effect will likely be determined by the attitudes they take toward them. With children, of course, this would be different.

Bachelor's Children (18)	Hilltop House (2)
Painted Dreams (8)	Houseboat Hannah (2)
Vic and Sade (7)	Happy Gilman (2)
Pepper Young's Family (7)	The Gumps (2)
Maw Perkins (5)	Lum and Abner (2)
The O'Neills (5)	The Road of Life (2)
Guiding Light (4)	Life Can Be Beautiful (2)

11. *Please list below what you feel are the advantages and disadvantages of having a radio in your home.*

This question was inserted both to stimulate thought and to solicit opinions which might be of value in this study. In the original copy of the questionnaire there were separate spaces for listing disadvantages as well as advantages, but the office girl who did the mimeographing decided the questionnaire should be shortened and left out the one space. She should then have changed the heading to read, "Advantages or Disadvantages," which she failed to do. This error probably colored the returns on this question, although forty-three replies did list disadvantages as well as advantages.

A great variety of reasons were listed, both for and against, by radio owners. The writer has classified these reasons and lists them below on the basis of the number of times they were mentioned.

Disadvantages

1. Children's hours are too exciting; too much shooting; too many murder stories. (10)
2. Tobacco and beer advertising. (5)
3. All kinds of "isms" and quack religions broadcast to teach false doctrines. (5)
4. Many programs of a low intellectual and ethical level. (5)
5. Jazzy interference with the conversation and quietness of the home. (3)
6. Same radio brings the good and bad programs.
7. Radio interferes with study.
8. Is like a hole in the wall through which come all the things that advertisers know will appeal to every type of person.

Advantages

1. Learn what takes place throughout the world. (66)
2. Weather reports and markets. (47)

3. Good music of all kinds. (37)
4. Good sermons, Bible lessons, Christian songs. (34)
5. Agricultural information and educational facts. (26)
6. Good way to entertain friends at any time without cost. (16)
7. Excellent for shut-ins and cripples. (15)
8. Helps keep children at home instead of on the street. (5)

12. *Indicate whether you listen to the following thirty-one programs. Please check one of the columns: a. We listen regularly. b. We listen sometimes. c. We listen not at all.*

The final section of this questionnaire gives a list of thirty-one programs and asks the radio owners to check one of the three following columns: a. We listen regularly. b. We listen sometimes. c. We listen not at all. The programs in the list were selected by going through copies of the radio magazines and selecting what the author, from his own experience, and through conversation with others, considered the most popular broadcasts. An attempt was also made to have the programs selected represent the different aspects of radio broadcasting, such as news, entertainment, sports, music, sermons, etc. The list was sent to a number of friends in Indiana to make certain that the program could be heard over stations in that section of the country. It was the feeling of the writer that this list, plus the opportunity given to indicate programs liked or disliked in sections four and five of the questionnaire, would insure a sufficiently large cross-section to indicate the general types of programs to which the radio owners and their families listen. The results of this checking are shown in graph form on the following page.

This graph shows that the religious programs are outstandingly the ones receiving the most regular hearing. Thirty-three families, or roughly one-third of those surveyed, listen regularly to Paschal's Sunday morning broadcast and about the same number listen regularly to the Gospel Singer. Next in line is the news by Lowell Thomas. These same three programs also lead in column two, with totals of forty-five, fifty-four and forty-seven, respectively. Roughly, therefore, eighty per cent of the group listen regularly or occasionally to these three programs. These results parallel the results of the questionnaire on questions four and five, and the opinion expressed by the owners in question nine. It may therefore be concluded that religious programs and news represent the major use of the radio made by this group of owners.

Henry Ford's Sunday Evening Hour
Seth Parker's Sunday Night Get-Together
National Vespers, Fosdick, Sunday
Moody's "Let's Go Back to the Bible," Sunday, P. M.
Paschal's "Old Time Religion," Sunday, A. M.
Edward McHugh, The Gospel Singer
National Farm and Home Hour
Father Coughlin
Professor Quiz, Saturday
Uncle Ezra, Tuesday
Mary and Bob True Stories
Amos and Andy
Lum and Abner
One Man's Family
The Lone Ranger
Rudy Vallee Variety Hour
Music Appreciation Hour, Damrosch
Paul Whiteman's Orchestra
Major Bowe's Amateur Hour
Religion in the News, Dr. Kirk
Lowell Thomas, News Commentator
Kate Smith Hour
Inside of Sports
America's Town Meeting of the Air
Chase and Sanborn—Charlie McCarthy
Lux Radio Theatre—Monday Night
Tom Mix, Straight Shooters
The Voice of Experience (Pinkham)
Johnny Presents Philip Morris
Alka Seltzer Barn Dance
Uncle John's Talks on Prophecy

LEGEND: We listen regularly

We listen sometimes

We listen not at all

Again the checks in this list reveal that National Vespers by Fosdick, Mary and Bob True Stories, and Tom Mix Straight Shooters, are among those least listened to. Only one owner tunes in regularly on Fosdick, and no one on either of the other two, while in the column, "we listen sometimes," Fosdick gets thirteen checks and each of the other two only five. The Mennonites are predominantly orthodox in theology. They have always been against war and consistently teach against the bringing of the McFadden pulp magazines into the home. This survey reveals that the radio owners covered on this survey do choose not to listen to programs indicating a point of view opposed to that held by the majority of the group. This is significant in indicating that Mennonite parents do exercise some measure of control over the use of the radio, in line with the teachings of the church. The degree of this measure of control is further revealed by making a comparison between the types of programs listened to by Mennonite families and the percentage of total time allotted to various types of programs by the broadcasting stations.

The following table gives the percentage of time devoted to each type of program for the country as a whole.

Type of program	Percentage of total time	
I. Music		
Serious	6.48	
Light	9.95	
Popular	32.27	
Other	3.75	52.45
II. Dramatic		
General Drama	6.50	
Comedy scripts	.98	
Children's drama	1.63	9.11
III. Variety		8.84
IV. Talks and dialogues		
Social and economic	2.33	
Literature, history and general culture	2.34	
Household and others of special interest to women	2.68	
Farm management and others of special interest to farmers	1.67	
Political	.31	
Others	2.08	11.41

V.	News		
	News reports	6.56	
	Sport flashes	.96	
	Market, crop and weather reports	1.03	8.55
VI.	Religious and Devotional		5.15
VII.	Special events		
	Meetings and events of civic interest	.77	
	Sports	1.21	
	Other	.23	2.21
VIII.	Miscellaneous		2.28
			100.00[2]

The items most popular with the Mennonite group are religious programs, sacred music, news and market reports. These items in the table above, represent respectively only 5.15, 6.48, 6.56, and 1.3 per cent of the total broadcast time.

Summary

This survey reveals that:

1. There are radios in at least 600 Mennonite homes in the Indiana-Michigan conference district, and their influence affects about 2,500 people.

2. The total number of owners responding to this questionnaire was 105, and counting the members of their families, the survey covers 493 persons.

3. The first radio came into a Mennonite home seventeen years ago, but there were only a few radios until 1929, when ten per sent of those responding to this survey, purchased theirs. More radios were purchased in each of the last two years than in any of the other years.

4. Each of the 439 persons covered by this survey averages a daily use of the radio of 46.5 minutes. The morning is the most popular period of the day for the use of the radio.

5. Only seven families use the radio in connection with their family worship.

6. Fifty per cent of the listeners do not in any active sense enter into the proceedings of worship during a radio speaker's prayer.

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[2] Department of Research of the Federal Council of Churches, *Broadcasting and the Public: A Case Study in Social Ethics.* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1938), p. 93.

7. Approximately one-third of the owners admit at some time or other having tried for radio prizes, and fifty per cent that they have been influenced to buy special articles advertised over the radio.

8. Fifty-two per cent of the listeners do not listen to the so-called sketches, but a list of fifty-six different titles under this heading indicate the great variety of this type of program offered.

9. Owners listed both the advantages and disadvantages of the radio, indicating that they are aware of its possible influence for good or evil.

10. A check on thirty-one listed programs indicates that religious programs are outstandingly the most popular, with news and music having a close second and third. The low checks on Fosdick's National Vespers, Mary and Bob True Stories, and Tom Mix Straight Shooters indicate that Mennonite radio owners do exercise some control in selecting programs in line with the teachings of the church.

11. An attempt to solicit opinion indicates that Mennonites are divided on their attitude toward the radio, some feeling that church members should not own them, while others believe that the church should use broadcasts to spread the gospel. The majority feel that the radio is a possible agency for good or evil and that the church should guide its members in its proper use.

The following quotations have been taken from the replies sent in by radio owners, and by pastors:

Had a radio only one month and realized it would be a harmful influence so we thought it best to give it up while still easy to give up.

The radio programs must be sifted the same as magazines and papers.

The advantages or disadvantages depend entirely upon its use.

There is no question in my mind of the possible wrong done through the radio, but even prayer under certain circumstances (such as the Pharisees' attitude) is condemned. Can we not use our auto right, not as the world does? How about the use of the radio?

I honestly believe it is one of the greatest, if not the greatest menace, we are tolerating in the church today.

I firmly believe our church is neglecting a real opportunity to spread the gospel and do her duty toward the sin-sick soul. I certainly would not want to be a Mennonite minister and pull back on the use of the radio and he who does will, I believe, be guilty of his neighbor or his brother's blood. We have much talent in the church which could be used for this work.

The radio is like the automobile. We would no doubt be as well or better off if we did not have them. The auto takes us where we want

to go and the radio brings to us what we want to hear. Their use determines their effects upon us. We must try to educate folks to use the radio for their good.

Conclusion

There are two possible attitudes which any organized group may take toward the radio. The one is that the influence of the radio is on the whole bad, and being difficult to separate the possible good from the evil effects, its use should be altogether prohibited. This point of view is well stated by the following quotation taken from the April, 1939, issue of the *Emanuel Missionary Monthly*:

> Methodists in the South, stirred to action by the increasingly baneful influence of the radio, have joined with Pacific Coast Methodists in circulating resolutions seeking wider support for a concentrated attack on the present type of advertiser-sponsored network radio plays. Other church groups should join them. If it was possible to curb the movies, it ought to be possible for the Church to bring the radio industry to time. Certainly that industry is due for a housecleaning.
>
> After reading the article above, one wonders why religious people have to wait until a sinful thing becomes a devouring giant before they see its evil nature. The writer speaks of the movies being curbed, but again one wonders how much they have been curbed. If the radio were curbed as much as the movie, would it then be a wholesome thing? There is one safe way to keep the unclean things from coming into the home over the radio and that is to have such a thorough housecleaning that the radio itself is cleaned out of the home. That will remove the source of defilement, not only from the world, but also from false religions. The radio is being weighed in the balances and is found wanting.

The other point of view is that the radio, like the telephone and the automobile, in and of itself, is not evil, and that its evil or good is determined by the use that is made of it. In an address given in New York City, in January, 1939, Lisa Sergio said:

> Radio is the conquest of our time and age. It has created link between all people on the globe; it has annihilated space and abolished time. But it is painful to find that the past few years, which mark the period of radio's fullest technical development, coincide with a phase of history in which the worst instincts of man seem to have escaped the boundaries of reason. Alas, this miraculous vehicle of universal understanding, this force channeled by science for the salvation and protection of human life, is used, in some quarters, to spread bitterness and hate; is forged, in some quarters, into a weapon that would destroy civilization. Spiritually, radio can be the most destructive and the most constructive force ever placed within the reach of man, and man can choose the good or the evil he will do.

ANABAPTISM AND PIETISM, II

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

(Concluded from April, 1940, issue)

At this point the second discussion begins, in which without further ado the ultimate question of the truth of the doctrine is taken up. In spite of its length the second discussion is less worthwhile than the first, since it really only repeats the same arguments by and large which were found in the first. The (W) holds that it could be possible that one should not rightly understand the Holy Scriptures and for that reason come to believe that this or that opinion would be the opinion of the Holy Spirit, even though this were not true. Or vice versa one might hold that his opinion is according to the Holy Scriptures and yet deceive himself. "What good would it do me if I should have an infallible rule and touchstone but have no eye to properly use it?" I pass over this very extensive portion altogether (it is 150 pages long), since, as just said, it merely approaches the same problem from new points of view. However, it must be admitted that Wolleb, in spite of his negative attitude, in general permits his Anabaptist to speak quite reasonably. He does not attempt to put his opponent in a particularly bad light as was commonly the case with the opponents of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the question concerning the right interpretation of Scripture is an inexhaustible one and is probably not to be solved with a simple solution. Of course the Anabaptists were never fanatics who spoke of their personal revelation like Thomas Müntzer. They were genuinely concerned to receive the pure word of God in literal and concrete fashion as it was taught in the Holy Scriptures, without any great amount of symbolical interpretation. It is apparent therefore, that Wolleb either did not know the real thought of the Anabaptists or that he failed to understand it.

The conflict between the Pietist and Anabaptist finally ends without a decision, even though the Pietist claims the victory for himself. To a certain extent the claim that truth is grounded in the Holy Scriptures constitutes the content of the appendix, namely the sermon on Matthew 5:35, which is entitled "Uber die erschröckliche Sünde des eitlen und leichtfertigen Schwörens." It is a sort of repetition of the argument already given above, according to which

only vain and false swearing is forbidden whereas a proper oath, in which the name of God is not misused, is not forbidden.

So far our source. Compared to the powerful polemic writings of the sixteenth century, especially the tremendous debate between Marpeck and Schwenckfeld, this book makes a mild and only superficially polemic impression. Also it should be noted that the fundamental questions are quite different than they were in the earlier days. We find here a man who stands by the church and its theology, yet a man who above all is seeking after the "right godliness." In the characteristic spirit of the eighteenth century which was open to receive a new truth, he also opened his mind to the most various religious influences. Without doubt for a time he was open to Anabaptist ideas and for that reason is rather weak in his attempt to refute them. Later it was Lutheran Pietism that occupied his mind, then finally it was the teaching of Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians in which he sought his salvation. Throughout it all, however, he remained in the state church.

What is the real meaning of the book which we have just examined? Was it only a private exposition by Wolleb for the sake of the members of his parish, who were apparently somewhat disturbed by the popular equating of Pietism and Anabaptism, and consequently confused by the relatively high estimate of the dangerous Anabaptists? Or did the book have a serious missionary purpose to win the Anabaptists for the pietistic way of life? We cannot answer this question. It is scarcely probable that one party was able to convince the other in any discussion—which may well have taken place in some form similar to this. Both went their own ways further, and the questions they raised remained open, for they were questions requiring inner decision and not problems which could be solved by reason alone. They will no doubt be repeated again and again.

Discussions Between the Hutterian Brethren and Zinzendorf and the Moravians

Whereas the debate which we have just studied was only a literary affair, even though it may have been similar to a real situation, we learn of another contact of about the same time between Anabaptists and Pietists which was a real affair and therefore of historical significance. The outcome was, to be sure, the same. The

majority of the Anabaptists retained their faithfulness to their faith, even in the most difficult period of the decline of the movement. In other words, they were able to resist the "temptation", in most cases. It was only external compulsion which led many to a different point of view, seldom ever missionary activity among them.

Earlier in this discussion I referred to the thorough and well documented study by J. Th. Müller entitled, *Die Berührung der* different point of view, hardly ever missionary activity among them. *alten und neuen Brüderunität mit den Täufern,* which has not received the notice which it deserves. Müller is the well-known historian of the Moravians in Herrnhut who discovered in the rich archives at his disposal, surprising materials which report numerous contacts of this new pietistic church with the Hutterian Brethren in Slovakia and later in Russia.

In 1727 a Moravian brother brought an Anabaptist from Slovakia, where he had been engaged in missionary work, to Herrnhut. The *Diarium* reports the following about this case. "A certain Mr. Heinrich Justus Meyer, a minister among the Anabaptists in Hungary and Transylvania, came to us.[81] He spoke much that was good. And one could observe in him a spirit that sought after fundamental things." When he left again he took with him a letter to the church, dated August 30, 1727, signed by Zinzendorf and twenty of the brethren. The most important passage in this letter reads as follows: "We were very glad to learn about you and to know that God has not left Himself without witness among you. Also that you endeavor among yourselves to follow the ordinances of the perfect church. It is also our purpose, although it is not the primary concern among us. We think much rather that each one should ground himself, and others, on Jesus Christ, and receive in his heart the regeneration from above out of incorruptible seed. It is this, dear friends, upon which we base all brotherhood. We believe in an invisible church of Jesus in the spirit. And so we desire to be united with you also in the spirit, whom we otherwise do not know after the flesh."[82] It is scarcely probable that the Hutterian Brethren

81. J. Beck, *Die Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer,* Wien, 1883, p. 375, gives only the name of a student, Johannes Meyer, who was baptized in 1722. The so-called *Kleingeschichtbuch* of the Hutterians was unfortunately not accessible to me.

82. J. Th. Müller *op. cit.* (note 56) p. 212. The letters of Count Zinzendorf have not been collected in print as yet. But see J. Th. Müller, *Graf Zinzendorf,* 1900, and the same: *Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder,* 1922-1931. The letters quoted in the text are to be found in the Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, R. 20, C. 35. 24.

either understood or approved this fundamental position, a position which was far removed from their own.

The above named Brother Meyer appeared a second time in 1731 in Herrnhut, and we learn of an exchange of correspondence between him and Zinzendorf about the practice of the Lord's supper, in which also the differences come out very clearly. Zinzendorf writes on March 23, 1731 as follows: "O Brother, my heart leaps within me, when at least twelve times in a year I eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood together with the church in Herrnhut and feel that my body is united with God through God. If I am too ignorant, however, to believe such a thing, I must remain ignorant. Why is reasoning necessary, since my great Saviour has commanded that I shall keep it and so I do keep it, and so it must remain. The coming together, the fellowship, the testing, eating, drinking, believing, possessing, feeling, enjoying, this is what I must testify to out of a hearty love."[83]

Here it becomes clear that, in spite of all the desire to be tolerant, there were no bridges between the two. It is true these are different thoughts than Wolleb had, but the fact remains that everything ecclesiastical-sacramental, however freely it might be interpreted, was in opposition to the fundamental ideas and practices of Anabaptism. On the one hand the Moravian wants to "enjoy" salvation, speaks of an invisible church, and hence, in spite of all his brotherliness, in the last analysis remains a solitary individual soul. The Hutterian on the other hand follows the path of genuine fellowship with all its difficulties, without thinking much about "enjoying," preferring rather to be faithful to the command of discipleship which he accepted in concrete terms, and which Zinzendorf apparently overlooked. This is the reason for the conflict of the Anabaptist with the world, a world which does not tolerate the requirements of discipleship. This is also the reason for the peace with the world which the Pietists enjoyed, for they withdrew from the world and fed altogether on their inward experience. It is therefore quite clear that missionary activities from either side inevitably would have to remain without any success worth mentioning.

This successful resistance against missionary work from the outside continued among the Hutterians even in the hard times which soon came upon them. The Hutterian Brethren were driven furth-

83. *Ibid.* p. 213.

er and further by persecution, to Transylvania, to Rumania, to Russian Poland, and finally into Southern Ukraine. Such were the stations of their path of suffering in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is quite surprising therefore to find a brother by the name of Jakob Walter, son of Zacharias Walter of Lewar in Slovakia, stopping at Herrnhut in the year 1782 on his way from Hungary to Russia, and seeming to give the impression there that the faith and practices of the Anabaptists were similar to those of the Moravians.[84] Perhaps he expected thereby to secure material help. In Herrnhut, however, it was believed that the Hutterian group was a remnant of the old Bohemian *Brüderunität,* which actually still existed in Hungary. Hence a Moravian brother by the name of Czolsch was appointed in 1783 to visit the churches in Slovakia. His report on conditions in Lewar gives a very moving picture of the remnant of the Hutterian Brethren which had remained there and accepted Catholicism. (This group constitutes the later "Habaner.") They told the brother who visited them, "We can be saved as well by this religion as by another one." At that time Czolsch wrote to Herrnhut, "How it pained my heart, to find these people in such a condition and to have to leave them again in this condition, I can scarcely describe."[85]

However, those Hutterians who had remained true to the faith of their fathers had long since left. They had been in Russia for almost a hundred years and here in Russia again representatives of the Moravians came into contacts with them which led to repeated discussion between them in the years 1797-1811. Each group apparently entered into these contacts with the hope that it would profit from them and ultimately be able to assimilate the other group. We learn for instance of a deeply spiritual exchange of correspondence between Johannes Waldner, the Hutterian leader in Wyschensky, and Johann Wiegand, the preacher of the Moravians in Sarepta. We learn further of an exchange of writing. Wiegand reads "with great desire" the chronicle of the Hutterians. The discussions at first concerned the question of infant baptism in which Wiegand advocated tolerance, a thing which seemed impossible to the Hutterians. "Bei euch ist eine Erkenntnis, und bei uns ist eine

84. J. Beck, *op. cit.,* pp. 640 and 642 footnote, where the year 1784 is erroneously given.

85. *Ibid.* p. 220.

andere. Und Paulus sagt, wenn ich alle Erkenntnis hätte und hätte der Liebe nicht, so wäre ich nichts . . . ."[86] About the same time, however Wiegand addressed a communication to the leadership of the Moravians in Herrnhut (1803) in which he says: "If we agree that these brethren actually possess something good, then it grieves me that they remain without help from us and should consequently be destroyed."[87] Actually they were not destroyed. Waldner likewise expressed himself in a friendly manner. For instance, after Wiegand's death in 1808, he wrote to the Moravians: "Through the writings which he gave me, particularly through what M. Spangenberg has written in his *Idea fidei fratrum* concerning faith and sanctification, I have learned to know your position, and these writings continue to be for me a blessing in my heart." Nevertheless both sides felt what Waldner expressed in his last letter of March 22, 1811, in spite of his appreciation of Wiegand and the Moravians: "There are a number of points between us which separate us, but after all, we do not want to despise each other but to bear with each other in the love of Jesus since we are one in the great work of redemption and reconciliation through the blood of Jesus."[87a]

This is the last word in the discussion between Anabaptism and Pietism which we have found. It is as late as the nineteenth century.

Conclusion: Contacts and Contrasts

Our general theme has two aspects, the purely historical, and the aspect of the history of ideas. In both cases we have discovered one reality. It is, that the relationships which we supposed to exist between Anabaptism and Pietism truly do exist, even though we have not always been able to trace them clearly. The radical Christianity of the Anabaptists was a genuine historical power whose influence on the course of history is gradually being recognized more and more.[88] Further, the pietistic movement in its broadest sense, with its insistence on a *praxis pietatis* in daily life which requires a total

86. *Ibid.* p. 222.

87. *Ibid.* p. 223.

87a. *Ibid.* p. 225.

88. Georg Jellinek, *The Declaration of the Rights of Men and Citizens, a Contribution to Modern Constitutional History.* Translated, New York, 1901. See also Troeltsch, *Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen,* 1912, in Translation, New York, 1931. He stresses especially this point of a late justification of the Anabaptists in the New World.

transformation of the being, was also of great historical significance.[89]

As we now attempt to summarize the points of contact and the contrasts between Anabaptism and Pietism once more, we shall be able to display fundamental points more clearly. In this connection we shall of course need to discriminate carefully between the external appearances and the genuine essence of the two groups. Two external phenomena may seem to be very similar, and yet be fundamentally different. Such a discrimination will be particularly important in connection with the fundamental concept of the "new birth" which seems to be one of the main points in common between the two movements.

Both groups desire the new birth, the inner transformation of the entire man, and therefore unitedly reject two fundamental points: (1) The general state church, (the "allgemeine Volkskirche") and (2) theology insofar as it is an expression of a dogmatic type of thought removed from life.

The rejection of the state church often led to separatism. What a difference there was between this separatism and the Anabaptist concept of separation. The Anabaptist meant by it something radical in life, not primarily a separation from the church but a separation from the world itself insofar as it is unchristian. The Pietist meant by separation only the exodus from the state church.

The rejection of theology signified in both groups the search after an independent interpretation of the Holy Scripture, and this ultimately leads to the question of the Spirit in its manifold significance, which we will need to examine more carefully in a moment.

In any case we observe that there are many real points of contact in the things which both groups rejected. But this is also true of positive elements in the thinking of the groups. Both groups truly sought to comprehend the whole of life in their systems. That is, both believed in the possibility of a sanctification of life, in contrast to the theology of the ineradicable depravity of human nature. "The regenerated do not sin," or "cannot sin," or, "overcome the tendency to sin:" in such expressions we recognize a faith in a positive content of life, and therewith also a faith in a new way of life.

89. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism.* transl. with foreword by Tawney, London, 1930. (German edit. 1905) He coined the expression: "Ascetic Protestantism."

However, it also becomes evident at once that this new way is unfortunately not the same way for both groups, as one would have a right to expect it would be among Christians.

By the sealing of the new birth in baptism the Anabaptist brethren indicate their readiness to follow the hard and difficult way of discipleship (*Nachfolge*). That is to say, they declare their readiness to follow a way which has as its final goal the kingdom of God. For this reason also the Anabaptist knows no compromise. He is altogether radical, since he is out to change the world. In all ages he has challenged the authorities who have realized that he was intent on a genuine revolution according to Christ, but were unwilling to tolerate him. Hence the new birth means for the Anabaptist a great obligation and task—everything else but a peaceful possession. This work at God's kingdom, it is true, does fill him with inner joy and peace, an experience which frequently astonished his opponents, but that is a by-product and not the goal.

The way of Pietism on the other hand is quite different in regard to the new birth and its consequences. It begins with the thought of one's own depravity and the consciousness of sin in the sense that the theologians, especially Luther have conceived it. This is followed by the struggle for repentance (*Busskampf*), an exclusively mental labor with oneself, which is quite apart from all thought of love. Then comes the process of the new birth, the consciousness of redemption and of a sure possession of salvation, and the freedom of enjoyment of this new possession. This is also a joy, but not the joy of the "confessor" and disciple of Christ, but the joy of one who has been "blessed" with the gifts of grace. This experience does not call into question the life of this world, since one has already overcome its demons individually and privately. One seeks therefore edification and uplift, but not a change of the world. The Pietist never finds himself in such severe testing as the Anabaptist, for his way is a way of much less conflict, and therefore much more easy to tread.

For this reason also the writings which the Pietists took over from the Anabaptists, and which we reported earlier, have such a different significance for the two groups. Among the Anabaptists they were primarily writings of comfort and exhortation, of help in time of testing and comfort in severe suffering. Among the Pietists however they became edificatory writings and therefore changed

their real content of significance without changing the form of words. They became a means of revival or joyous uplift, or as it is usually put, a means for "the practice of godliness," the *praxis pietatis.*

For the Pietist therefore the following of Christ (*Nachfolge Christi*)—in the full concrete sense of the Gospel Commission—was replaced by the *praxis pietatis* which, it is true, was not altogether foreign to the Anabaptists, and which consisted of the inner experience of salvation and the cultivation of this experience. Thus many words and even attitudes taken by the two groups have the appearance of likeness whereas in reality they contain deep inner antitheses.

"Following Christ" (*Nachfolge Christi*)—that is a central word of the Anabaptists, however variously they may have understood it in successive periods of their history. This concept of discipleship demands a great and voluntary obedience in thought and deed, an obedience concerning which, Peter Walpot wrote in 1570 in connection with II Corinthians 10:5 as was mentioned earlier in this treatise. It means the acceptance in an absolutely concrete fashion of the call of Christ and the Gospel. This "following" has two fundamental meanings: *love* and *cross.*

"Cross" stands for the suffering which results from the clash with "the world" which does not understand the Christian, and "love" stands for the complete renunciation of the use of force as well as the active practice of brotherly love in the church to the extent of the community of goods as it was practiced among the Hutterians. Without such a church discipleship is unthinkable. Never is love conceived as something emotional, but rather only as an attitude which demands expression. Understood in this fashion, love means a hard way of daily victory and has nothing to do with a general morality or with a righteousness of works, as the opponents of the Anabaptists often claim.

The *praxis pietatis* by the Pietist means something quite different. In place of obedience, of the fear of God, comes the experience of *Gottseligkeit,* the reception of blessing; and in the place of the above described strict concept of love, comes a mild friendliness and morality. It is true that in the area of ethics there are strong points of contact and apparent likenesses. However, the tendency toward a humanitarian moralism is without doubt one of the particular marks of most pietistic circles. This moralism, however, has no di-

rect connection with the idea of the kingdom of God, but rather has its roots in an emotional good will of the regenerated. For the Pietist the independent individual conscience has become the ultimate authority, instead of the Sermon on the Mount.

In his book entitled *Toleranz und Offenbarung* Johannes Kühn has called Anabaptism a religion of the emotions, because it denounced rational theology and emphasized in particular the duty of love. But Kühn's misunderstanding is at once exposed when one compares Anabaptism with Pietism. The Anabaptist is not interested in enjoying his salvation like the Pietist, but rather, as a regenerated Christian, sees his duty only to be obedient in following a definite way of life which means conflict, steadfastness, and inner surrender (*Gelassenheit*). These characteristics are quite different from those cultivated by Pietism. It was only in later centuries when Anabaptism had become weaker, tired of its conflict with the world, that it sought peace with the world, and limited its attempt to achieve and practice the principle of brotherhood only to those within the ranks of the church. This was indeed an approach to a way of life quite similar to that of other groups and fellowships. In some instances it was a complete but unnoticed transition and change of principle into the form of other groups, such as the Pietists. The Anabaptists had lost their alertness (*Wachsamkeit*) and thus easily confused, at least occasionally here and there, the fight for the kingdom of God with an otherwise quite praiseworthy moralism.

Likewise the essence of fellowship ("Gemeinschaft") was fundamentally quite different among the Anabaptists and the Pietists, however much both stressed its value. The conventicles of the Pietist represented an edificatory gathering of the regenerated, in which each one as a consequence of his own private experience of the *Busskampf* and assurance of salvation, felt himself distinct from the others. The conventicles were gatherings of individualists, even though these individualists were ready to a limited extent to devote themselves to the group.

The Anabaptists both sought and achieved something essentially different, in their fellowship. It was the utmost possible disappearance of everything personal and selfish (*Eigenen*) in the practice of a true brotherly mutuality. Even in times of most severe persecution, when it was possible to meet only at night on lonely meadows or forest retreats for the celebration of the Lord's supper or

for baptism, this fundamental and essential purpose remained. The parable of the bread and wine, which was so popular among the brethren, in which each separate grain of wheat and each separate grape from the vine had to give up its own being, illustrates clearly the meaning of this concept.[89a] It is the "fellowship of the unity of the spirit" (*Gemeinschaft der Geisteinheit*), as it was occasionally named.

The Concept of the Spirit Among the Various Groups and Movements

The ultimate and most difficult problem in the comparison of the two groups is the concept of the Holy Spirit. In their interpretation of the Holy Scripture and in the concept of their particular way of life, both groups claim the authority of the Holy Spirit. This was particularly evident in the discussion between Wolleb and the Anabaptist. The author in that book could not get away from this deepest of all questions, and could find no satisfactory solution for it. After all it is impossible to fight about the "correct spirit," no matter how significant the answer to the question might be for all other things. It is an unending theme, which constantly concerns the man who has been laid hold upon by a religious experience. How may the Holy Spirit be recognized? Indeed what is the Holy Spirit after all? Is it a special feeling, is it a special emotion, or is it rational thought, as has so often been asserted? Is it that ultimately indescribable voice and strength, which changes the man and makes him capable of treading the hard way of witnessing? Emotion and reason are human-mental experiences, and therefore belong altogether in another language than the language of the Gospel. And it is after all this Gospel, its interpretation, its understanding, which is the sole authority for life. It is probable that this question of the "right spirit" is so difficult to decide, because it comes from the groups in which we know that we find the most various conceptions of the Spirit in all kinds of combinations, rational and irrational, spiritualistic and emotional. Or expressed in more general terms, the conception may be "concrete," coming out of the reality of faith, or it may be only "subjective," coming out of the reality of experience or even of thinking. Again it may be prophetism and spiritualism,

89a. See Friedmann, "Die Briefe der österr. Täufer." *Arch. f. Ref. Geschichte,* 1929, p. 72. (for further references see also footnote 1, *ibid*).

Anabaptism and mysticism, moralism and fanaticism (*enthusiastisches Schwärmertum*). All of these are forms in which faith, or even only the desire for faith, has expressed itself. In his book on *Luther*,[90] Karl Holl raises the same question which Wolleb had directed to his Anabaptists two hundred years earlier. The question is, "what is the guarantee that the spirit which the *Schwärmer* (Luther's term to describe all his non-theological opponents) believed themselves to possess is the same as the spirit of the Scripture?" Holl continues, in opposition to those groups which after all are rather remote from the Bible, and which emphasize the "inner word", "In the last analysis the natural man does not receive anything of the Word of God and it is only the Spirit which is inwardly related to the Scripture that is able to expound it. The Scripture itself must bring forth this Spirit which recognizes it as the Word of God. Only through the Word does the Spirit come upon a man. How else could one be certain?"[91]

Holl's question is in fact a fundamental question, however little we may be able to accept Holl's argument. The answer of the Anabaptist in Wolleb's book, in which he uses the evidence of life as a support for his argument is, it is true, brief and apparently convincing, but the further content of the discussion in Wolleb shows how various the counter arguments can be. Let us therefore attempt a more extensive analysis in order to bring at least a certain amount of clarification to our theme. The first part of our analysis will deal with the developments and concepts which are observable in history, and the second part will deal with a more fundamental consideration of the Biblical-dogmatic element which may lead to a conclusive formulation of our thesis.

1. *The Spirit among the Anabaptists and Contemporary Groups*

First of all we must briefly liquidate the misconception which is still found among many church historians, which confuses the Anabaptists with fanatics of the type of Thomas Müntzer. This is not difficult. The fanatics really believe in an immediate revelation through visions and ecstasies, which makes them independent of the

90. Karl Holl, "Luther" in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2. ed., Leipzig, 1923, pp. 566 ff.

91. Richard Grützmacher's *Wort und Geist, eine historisch-dogmatische Untersuchung*, Leipzig, 1902, casts light on this question. It must be said, however, that Grützmacher misunderstands the Anabaptists completely, just as much as Holl does, by throwing them together with fanatics and visionary groups only because they failed to follow Luther. The figure of Thomas Müntzer still exerts a confusing influence on many church historians.

Biblical basis. This is their testimony of the spirit. Müntzer said, "One can arrive at faith also without the Scripture." It was above all this claim of Müntzer which seemed to Luther to be so dangerous that he condemned the so-called *Schwärmer* (with whom he included erroneously all the others) most severely. Unfortunately this judgment of Luther's has continued through the centuries without criticism. Actually the fanatical group, insofar as there really were any such at all, was small, insignificant and without essential influence in later history. There were no congregations of such people, but only here and there individual figures. And these figures had nothing to do with Anabaptism, for never did the Anabaptists substitute the spirit of revelation[92] for the Holy Spirit.

Quite different is the relation between Anabaptism and a Spiritualism such as may be identified in the person of Sebastian Franck. Here as a matter of fact there were numerous points of contact. The spiritualists themselves, however, were always only individual personalities who rejected any real obligation to a group. They remained scholars seeking after faith and experiencing it. At all times they connected their teaching with the doctrine of the *Logos* as it is contained in the Gospel of John, and also often expressed ideas so similar to Neoplatonic teaching, that in most cases they were Christians only in a remote sense. For the spiritualist "the spirit goeth whither he listeth," and the external word becomes full of the spirit only through spirit-filled men whom he uses. This is indeed the decisive difference between the spiritualist and that typical Lutheran theological conception which we observed earlier with Holl. Without doubt it was the concrete Holy Spirit, which such persons thought to experience plainly in the voice of conscience. In their attitude toward the Holy Scriptures, however, they were altogether lacking in a natural child-like faith in the Scripture. They attempted to interpret all that is obscure in far reaching symbols, or at least in what they usually called "figures," *"figürlich,"* and they devoted much energy to this type of interpretation of Scripture. It is but natural that for such people the ethical questions of living become less and less significant so that their way of life became in reality only a half way. The few scholars of the Reformation period who stood somewhat close to the Anabaptists, belonged to this group.

Historians have also frequently confused the Quakers with the

92. German, "Eingebungsgeist."

Anabaptists, and certainly not always without some right. Both groups were more concerned to have a living concrete faith and to manifest the doing of genuine brotherliness and neighborly love, than they were about the redemption from a burden of sin. Nevertheless the attitude of the two groups is not the same. With the Anabaptists, what counts is the Biblical obedience to the Word, whereas with the Quakers it is the guidance through the "inner light" or "inner word." With the Quakers it is also the Holy Spirit, but as with the Spiritualists or even the *Schwärmer,* spirit is a matter of immediate enlightenment, and is not bound to the Word or to tradition. Hence the Quakers are also only in a more general sense Christians. They are quite near to the Anabaptists in the practical matters of fellowship and in readiness for action. But in the very center of their thinking they after all feel themselves more closely related to the spiritualists and the mystics.

That Anabaptism has but little to do with mysticism, we know today better than formerly. Mysticism presupposes quite definite individual experiences, which consist of a union of the soul with God. But seldom does this experience lead to the active practice of ethical living. Very often it remains consciously quietistic, a passive waiting on the Lord, as has been noticed earlier in the discussion, particularly with reference to Johannes Arndt (1555-1621) who was the first mystic in Protestant Christendom in Germany. The great Jacob Böhme (1557-1624) is also to be listed here as one of the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth-seventeenth century, together with the later so influential Valentin Weigel (1533-1588) whose mystical writings were discovered and became effective only twenty years after his death. All of these men did not recognize a real church, but only the invisible fellowship of the spirit. Their attitude toward the Holy Scriptures is expressed by Weigel in one place as follows: "All truth lies within us. The meaning of the Holy Scriptures is this, that we should be admonished concerning our inward treasure." The mystical experience of the Spirit is pure inwardness, to be sure not without substantial strength. As has already been mentioned, Pietism took essential elements out of the mystical writing, whether it was for hymns or for edificatory literature, to be sure without that substantial fullness of mysticism. However, Anabaptism knew as little of the mystics of the Reformation period as they knew of the mystics of the Middle Ages.

The most extreme contrast to these groups is what we are accustomed to call "rationalism." When rationalism appeared in theology, it became a *Schriftgelehrtentum* and orthodoxy and accordingly something quite foreign to Anabaptism. When it appeared as free acting intelligence, it became a confidence in the "natural light" of one's own wisdom, which "natural light" is held to be the Spirit. The consequence of the latter is often separatistic movements of the sort which appeared in the sixteenth century, such as the Socinians and the Antitrinitarians, with whom the above named Polish Brethren also had some connection. The supreme antithesis on this point has already been listed as the contrast between "reason" and "obedience." Rationalism usually ends in moralism, which, with all its value is something fundamentally different from discipleship, the following of Christ (*Nachfolge*).

What then do the Anabaptists mean by the Holy Spirit? Here it is noteworthy that they much prefer to speak of faith rather than of the spirit and thus avoid misunderstanding. The Anabaptists are much less theoreticians than practitioners, confessors of the truth rather than interpreters of the truth. For them the phrase, "inwardness of heart," an oft used phrase, which might sound very familiar to a Pietist, never means the same as the "inner word" means for the Quakers, as has occasionally been asserted. The power of the Scripture stands without question, and the Anabaptists understand this Scripture altogether concretely in a child-like naive simplicity, "the simplicity of the heart" (*Die Einfalt des Herzens*). It is therefore a frequently used expression. *The Spirit can be present only where he can also become flesh.* Not the Logos, but Christ is the leader. One might call this position a "concrete Biblical spiritualism."

The Spirit is a creative spirit, that is a molding power, whose material is the whole of life, including its outward expression. The spirit requires an unrestricted commitment, and that means for the lover of the Gospel discipleship, *"Nachfolge."* Insofar as this affects the interpretation of the Bible, the Anabaptists are inclined to accept the symbolic-figurative language of the spiritualist, but they differ from them markedly again in their will to achieve these teachings. They are suspicious of scholarship, of what they call *Hochgelehrsamkeit.* Thus Pilgram Marpeck, for example, writes in his letter to Schwenckfeld in 1554: "Der ungelernte Zimmer-

mannssohn, daraus Eure Weisheit so einen hohen Christus erdichtete . . . ."[93]

With the Anabaptists the Spirit is never reason and never emotion, in spite of the word "heart," and he is also always something different from the voice of conscience. The Spirit has revealed himself in the Gospel, and he reveals himself continuously to the one who is born again through Christ.

The problem of the concept of Spirit among the Anabaptists has never been raised in the literature of Anabaptist history. Only the unpublished dissertation of Franz Heimann, entitled *Die Lehre von Kirche und Gemeinschaft in der Huterischen Täufergemeinde,*[94] examines this question in the sense which we have treated it. It is greatly to be regretted that this unusually fine work cannot be made more generally available.

The Concept of the Spirit among the Pietist Groups

Pietism, which we understand here as in the entire discussion of this monograph, only in the broadest sense of the term, is not a uniform phenomenon, but a movement which found expression in markedly different groups, among which there is only one common element, namely, that they all depart from the "concrete" conception of the Bible into a subjectivism of faith expressed in terms of a human intellectual experience. One might almost speak of a flight into a religion of inwardness. This led also to the depreciation of theology. In any case the concept "heart" is quite different among the Anabaptists and among the Pietists.

Three essentially different groups may be distinguished among the Pietists.

The first and original form of Pietism in the narrower sense, as it is represented in Germany primarily by Spener and Francke was irrational. It was a genuine religion of emotions, focused upon edification and the inner experience of redemption from sin. A connection between this and Johannes Arndt has already been mentioned. The chief concern of these Pietists was the experience

93. J. Loserth's edition of Marpeck's *Antwort, op. cit.,* p. 55, ". . . ain ungelerten zimmermanssun . . . draus solch aigne weissheit ir selbs so ain hohen Christum dicht."

94. See the unpublished dissertation by Franz Heimann, *Die Lehre von Kirche und Gemeinschaft in der Huterischen Täufergemeinde,* University of Vienna, 1927, 83 typed pages.

(*Spüren*) of moral-spiritual sensations an d their effects. The Pietist became independent of theology, but remained in the state church which he wished to make more alive. Spirit and *emotion* were for the most part confused by him. One is inclined to identify the older conventicles, which were mentioned in the early portion of this monograph, with this type of Pietism.

The reaction was not long in coming in a second type of Pietism. It consisted of a rationalization of religion, in which the Spirit and *reason* were identified, much like among the Socinians in the sixteenth century. It is the transformation of the first-named Pietism into the later natural theology and so-called Deism which played a prominent role in the second half of the eighteenth century. This movement led to the Enlightenment and the declaration of the independence of reason. Conscience and morality are the inner marks of this movement which often attained a high level. The autonomous ethical personality was born in this movement. This personality has, however, nothing in common any more with religion.

Finally there was the third group of Pietists, the Moravians. In it the spiritualistic concept of the Spirit became the foundation for a new church with a sacramental life. This is what Schwenckfeld wanted in the sixteenth century and what Count Zinzendorf, who was very like Schwenckfeld, wanted in the eighteenth century. Both created a sort of compromise form. They were no spiritualistic individualists, but sought ecclesiastical fellowship of a genuine Christian type. However, to this new fellowship they gave a content which differed from the general church and corresponded to their concept of the Spirit. We must call this a type of Pietism even though it is quite different from the two above named groups. It is with this latter form of Pietism that Anabaptism had its chief contact and discussion, and for very deep reasons. In the sixteenth century it was Pilgram Marpeck who sought to define and clarify the differences between the two movements in two extensive books. The contacts of the eighteenth century have been reported extensively earlier in my discussion. In both cases Anabaptism found itself facing similar situations.

It is characteristic of the Zinzendorfian in Moravianism, that in it all concern regarding the state of sin as well as all legalism disappeared, also all the self-torment which is common in ascetic Protestantism. The Moravian believed and experienced the freely-be-

stowed blessedness of a Christian man, something after the fashion that Luther taught at the beginning of his work. He committed himself to the grace of God and experienced happiness and serenity in the fellowship with all the souls who love Jesus. The citation from Zinzendorf's letter concerning the Lord's supper is very characteristic of this point of view.[95] This does not signify of course a position which is openly in opposition to Anabaptism. Certainly brotherliness was also to be found in the Moravian church, but it remained only a secondary requirement. In the center of the Moravian stood "the office of the Holy Spirit," which mediates and makes possible the correct use of the sacrament. So this church is a true church, for without such a fellowship there could be no Lord's supper, and yet through the spiritualistic emphasis it is on the other hand dissolved into individual personalities. The parable of the bread and the wine have no real application here. The doctrine of the "cross" as the eternal reality and a symbol of the Christian life in conflict against the world on behalf of the kingdom of God is likewise of secondary and more theoretical significance in this type of fellowship about the Lord's table.

A Biblical-Dogmatic Concluding Observation

So far we have given a survey of the historic groups and their contrasts. Another more Biblical-dogmatic study shall now lead us into considerations which to some extent will, we believe, give us the ultimate answer to our search.

We have seen that in many points both groups manifest likenesses and points of contact, however different they may be in their central essence. What is the essence of each group? Or in other words, what do both groups seek in the Bible? Certainly in both cases it was an undogmatic search, based upon the general priesthood of all believers, which they pursued. But how then could that which they found be so different? Was it in reality only the very difficult questions about the "right spirit," for the purpose of interpreting the Holy Scriptures, or was this problem after all not the ultimate problem and therefore not so easy to answer?

Certainly the concept of the general priesthood of all believers in opposition to the theology of the scholars was not to be understood as an arbitrary freedom from the "outer Word" in favor of

95. See page 151 above.

the "inner Word." Both groups agreed on this point. The Anabaptists understood "the Word" very literally, namely as a commission to them and not as something which was to be understood symbolically as "knowledge." Here many historians have erred in misunderstanding the Anabaptists. What distinguishes the Anabaptists from Pietism is not at all the different solutions of the problem of "word and spirit." It is an error to suppose that the Anabaptists, in contrast to the theologians, understood under the term "Spirit" the *Logos* of the philosophers or even their own imagination, rather than the revealed Word of Scripture.

The cause of so much misunderstanding and astonishment at Anabaptism in many ecclesiastical circles including Pietism, was something altogether different. It was the shift in the point of view from which the Holy Scripture itself was read, the shift of focus from the *doctrine of justification,* as it is to be found in the epistles of the Apostle Paul, over to the *doctrine of the kingdom of God* which the Gospel itself proclaimed. Certainly both belong together, but nevertheless there are decisive differences which arise as a result of this difference in focus. The question is: Is the Gospel to be understood through Paul, or is Paul to be understood through the Gospel.[95a]

He who seeks to secure a total understanding of Holy Scripture from the point of view of Paul, starts with the experience of sin and experiences salvation in the consciousness of freely bestowed grace. But he who seeks to understand the Holy Scripture from the point of view of the Gospel, starts with the requirement of discipleship (*Nachfolge*), that is, he starts from the point of view of concrete love and the cross, and takes from them his sense of commission.

The antithesis which is contained in the quotation from Marpeck's *Verantwortung* which is given above, brings out very clearly the controversy with which we are now concerned. Marpeck uses the contrasts "halo" and "crown of thorns", or the "sweet" and the "bitter" Saviour. These pairs of expressions represent two contrasting ways of faith. Hans Haffner, another Anabaptist brother, expresses the same thoughts that are contained in the Marpeck quotation in his beautiful tract entitled *Von einem wahrhaften Ritter*

95a. There is still a third manner of reading the Holy Scripture, namely from the angle of the Revelation of St. John. As is well known there are many groups which follow this point of view.

Christi where he says, "The world accepts Christ quite readily as a gift, but from the point of view of suffering does not know him at all."[96]

It is to be expected that both types of thinking and both manners of life should meet each other frequently. For the redeemed sinner knows that love is necessary, just as the soldier of the kingdom of God cannot dispense with the grace of God. Nevertheless the above indicated antithesis remains, as history has demonstrated.

The ultimate meaning of the concept of justification leads to "enjoyment," *Geniessen.* This is particularly true of Zinzendorf, but equally of all the Pietists. Further it is true of the Lutheran church, in general, which indeed emphasizes especially the Paulinistic element. The idea of the kingdom of God ultimately leads us to work and to suffer. Of course we cannot work without the previous experience of justification, but we cannot truly enjoy this experience if we do not work at the same time.

Peter Riedemann, one of the most important Hutterian leaders, wrote as early as 1531, "Faith alone is not sufficient, justification must be followed by sanctification, and confession by discipleship."[97] One hundred and twenty years later Andreas Ehrenpreis, also a Hutterian leader, expressed a similar conviction when he wrote in 1652: "Where the love of Christ is not sufficient to lead one to give help and assistance in material things to one's neighbor in time of need, there the blood of Christ does not cleanse from sin."[98]

Again the conflict of ideas may lead us to a discussion of what is to be understood under the term "work" and what the term "discipleship" (*Nachfolge*) signifies. Actually, in the pietistic movement there were many works of charity, just as there were in Catholicism. But the difference from Anabaptism is quite noticeable for the one who has insight. Among the Pietists charity is not a decisive element in the Christian life, it is either only the general morality of the humanitarian man, or it is the much discussed salvation-by-works (Werkheiligkeit). In both cases, however, it has nothing to do with discipleship, the kingdom of God, and the Gospel commission.

Redemption is not only deliverance, as Zinzendorf taught (simi-

96. See R. Friedmann, "Concerning the True Soldier of Christ, A. Hitherto Unknown Tract of the Philippite Brethren in Moravia," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Vol. V, April, 1931, pp. 87-99.

97. W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten,* Bd. I., Kassel 1928, p. 185.

98. Andreas Ehrenpreis, *Ein Sendbrief,* 1652. Reprinted at Scottdale, Pa., in 1920.

lar to Luther) but rather it is a commission, a task for the believer. It is not self-righteousness, but also consecration to a great work, at least in purposes. It was only after Anabaptism gradually weakened in the later centuries of its history that it at times falsely understood this content of its own Gospel. Man is, to be sure, everywhere and at all times involved in sin, but he is capable of fighting against it. He can make himself worthy to the extent that he becomes capable of fulfilling God's commission in the positive sense through deed and the giving of his life. This was the great faith of the Anabaptists, a faith which none of the above-named groups possessed.

Eberhard Arnold, the founder of a new Hutterian Bruderhof in Germany (now located in England) once expressed the contrast between Anabaptism, or as he called it "prophetism," and Pietism, in a letter to the author dated June 6, 1929, in an unusually clear formulation. He had also clearly seen the problem and felt the "temptation" and earnestly sought to find the right answer to the question. A decisive passage in this letter may therefore serve as the conclusion to our essay.

"The prophetic man knows that the Pietist can only create an illusion of peace, because he fails to comprehend the objectivity of the kingdom of God. Prophetism is far removed from Pietism. All that they have in common is the sense of being personally spoken to by God himself, the personal experience that God is and that he is interested in man. The tremendous chasm between the two consists in the fact that the Pietist feels satisfied when he experiences the personal sense of salvation and the presence of the personal God, whereas the prophetic spirit thereby only comes to the sense of committing himself to the decisive work of God and therewith desires, without any consideration for his personal feeling of happiness, to see the will of God realized for the whole world. What he wants is that the reign of God should become reality among the kingdoms of men."

PALATINATE MENNONITE CENSUS LISTS, 1664-1774

Edited from the Originals in the State Archives at Karlsruhe, Germany, by Harold S. Bender

III

NO. 18 1752-N S

Pfalz Generalia, fasc. 4213, fol. 40/42

Wiedertäuffer Tabell

Aus denen ad Generale de dato 22ten Dezembris 1752 eingelangten sämbtl. u. hauptsämbtl. Berichteren.

Oberamt Wohnstatt	Namen Zahl		Zeit der Aufnahme Von Wem	
Bacherach				
Boxberg				
Kreuznach				
Ladenburg				
Lauterecken				
Simmern				
Veldentz				
Umstadt				
(Otz)?berg				
Frankenthal				
Alzey				
Erbesbüdesheim	Jakob Eicher	6	Anno	1741
	Johann Schowalter	5	"	1743
	Mich. Andres Wittib	2	ante annum	1744
	Val. Dahlem	2		1749
Nack	Jacob Stauffer	7		1750
	Christ. Eymann	5		1751
Schniftenberger-hof	Oswald Neff Wittib	3	ante annum	1744
Kriegsfelder gemarkung	Jacob Heer	7		1747
Heppenheim	Jost [Joh.] Rupp	6	vor der alten	
	Daniel Landes	8	concession	
	Matth. Weber	2	seind annoch	
	Heinrich Weber	4	von der alten concession hier	
Monzernheim	Konr. Kaysers Ehefrau mit einem reformirt Mann	1	post annum	1744

Osthofen	David Jutzi	7	vor der alten
	Math. Weiss	3	concession
	Ulr. Hackmann	5	
	Jacob Weiss	5	
Alsheim	Dan. Schmitt	7	
	Joh. Schmitt	7	
	Chr. Leonhard	6	
	Dan. Stauffers Wittib	3	
Ibersheimerhof	Adam Brubacher	6	
	Jak. Brubacher Wittib	4	
	Johannes Hackmann	7	
	Ludwig Neukommet Witt.	2	
	Heinrich Seitz	6	
	Rudolph Forrer		
	Christian Hiestand	6	
	Peter Biehler	5	
	Jacob Leysi	3	
	Mich. Christophel	8	
	Christ. Bürky	9	
	Joh. Forrer alt	7	
	Jacob Rorer eine Wittib. hat ihren Erbbestand an sich erheiratet	6	
	Jacob Hackmann hat von seinem Vater sein Anteil Hof ererbt	5	
	Ulrich Hackmannsche Erben haben einen Afterbeständer namens Henrich Berky	6	
	Christ. Brennemann Afterbeständer von Chr. Neukommet zu Mannheim, so den Hof erkauft hat von Chr. Stauffer so in Pennsylvanien gezogen	3	
	Jac. Berky so seinen Hof erkauft von Chr. H. in Pennsylvanien gezogen	6	
	Abr. Hackmann, welcher seinen Hof von seinem Vater ererbt	4	
	Joh. Kaegy	5	
	Abraham Seitzens Wittib geheiratet		
	Daniel Stauffer, so des Hch. Hackmann Witt. geheir.	5	Neu Beständer post annum 1744
	Jak. Hiestand, der den Hof von s. Vater ererbet.	3	”

	Hch. Stauffer, so seinen Hof mit s. Frau als Mterbbest. an sich erheiratet	3	"		
	Christian Hackmann, der seinen Hof von s. Vater erb.	6	"		
	Johannes Forrer, der von s. Vater als Erbbest. zu Mettenheim wohnhaft einstweilen in den Hof eingesetzt	2	"		
	Andreas Storch, ein Weber, der vermöge ihrer Eltern Erbbest. briefs von sämtl. Hofleuten angenommen.	2	"		
	Jakob Müller, ein Weber	3	"		
	Christian Eschelmann	2	"		
	Peter Landes, ein Kuhhirt	4	"		
		137			
Hamm	Heinrich Rohren Wittib	1			
Spiessheim	Heinrich Hahn Wittib				
	Joh. Jak. Hüthwohl				
	Johannes Weber				
	Peter Berg				
	Peter Berg der alte				
	Julius Biehn				
	Diether Biehn				
	[Heinrich Biehn]				
	Daniel Bliehm ein Witwer				
Flomborn	Jak. Wohlgemuth	2	anno		1753
Oberflörsheim	Jak. Dahlem		ante	annum	1744
	Johannes Hahn		"	"	"
	Arnold Krämer	5	"	"	"
	Wilhelm Krämer	6	ante	annum	1744
	Christian Weber	6	"	"	"
	Johannes Schmidt	7	"	"	"
	Peter Weber	6	"	"	"
Gundersheim	Heinrich Schmidt sen.	8	"	"	"
	Heinrich Schmidt jun.	6	"	"	"
	Johannes Krämer	4	"	"	"
Niederflörsheim	Johannes Christoffel	6	"	"	"
Kriegsheim	Johannes Jansen	6	ante	annum	1744
	Heinrich Strohm	6	"	"	"
	Heinrich Gram	8	"	"	"
	Johannes Strohm	5	"	"	"
	David Hütwohl	7	"	"	"
	Elisabeth, Abr. Kolb Witt.	4	"	"	"
	Anna Wilhelm Biehn Witt.	4	"	"	"
	Johannes Noldt	4	1749		
	Peter Müller	2	1750		

Einselthum [Einseltheim]	Tobias Lichti	5	post annum 1744
Offenheim	Michael Boxler nebst Frau und Kinder haben s. alte Mutter bei sich so sehr alt und keine Gewerbschafte mehr treibt.	3	" " "
Wolfsheim	Peter Böhmers Wittib	4	post annum 1744
	Wendel Janson	8	" " "
	Matthias Weber als Wur.	1	" " "

(Editor's Note: From this point on, the official archivist's copy has a different arrangement of places. Neff's order is followed).

Amt Freinsheim	Martin Bliehm	1	post annum 1744
Germersheim			
Mechtersheimerhof	Johannes Hoff	6	ohne Schutzbrief
Auf der Breschweiss	Witt. Gingerich Erbbest.	6	" "
Rodenhof	Johannes Christian	7	" "
Auf der Stockwiese	Abr. Rees Temporalbest.	2	" "
In der Hoslach	Christian Schneider	5	" "
	Rudolph Hertzler	5	" "
In der Hilspach	Jakob Müller	4	" "
Auf dem Laubenwald	Christian Berki	9	" "
Im Taubertal [Laubertal]	Philipp Balzer [statt seines wegezogenen Bruders]	5	post annum 1744
Mörzheim	Valtin Petermann	5	1751
Bretten			
Eppingen	Christian Heer Administrationes Temporalbeständer	5	Ante annum 1744 wohnt schon über 14 Jahre hier.
Heidelberg			
Weyhauerhof [Werschauer-	Abraham Behr	3	ohne Schutzbrief
Rohrbach	Jakob Fellmann [Velmann]	8	" "
Bruchhausen	Melchior Fellmann "	6	" "
	Johannes Büschler	9	" "
	Johannes Bachmann	6	" "
	Johannes Grof	7	" "
	Isaak Behr	4	" "
Rohrbach	Johannes [Josef] Schwartz	5	1745 Churf. Reg.
	Johannes Möllinger	3	
	Jakob Hackmann	5	ohne Schutzbrief
	Henrich Mayer	2	
	Jakob Funck	7	Churfurstl. Hofkammer

Walldorf	Eva Fellmanns Wittib	2	ohne Schutzbrief
	Jakob Muselmann	9	Churf. Hofkammer
Lützelsachsen	Tobias Hottel	6	Freyherr von
[Amt Dilsberg]	Joseph Horsch [Horst]	10	Hundsheim
Mauer	Abraham Kaufmann	7	ohne Schutzbrief
	Christian Kaufmann	3	" "
Angelloch	Michael Brand	9	" "
	Jak. Schallenberger ein Bürger	3	" "
	Benedikt Fischer	8	" "
Schatthausen	Heinrich Kaufmann	10[6]	" "
	Daniel Neukomm	2[10]	1753 Chur. Hof-
	Jakob Kaufmann	8[2]	kamer
Baÿerthal	Peter Egli	[8]	ohne Schutzbrief
Mekesheim	Johannes Pletscher	9	" "
	Samuel Pletscher	10	" "
Eschelbronn	Christian Muselmann	10	" "
Daispach	Jakob Kaufmann	2	" "
	Martin Kaufmann	4	" "
	David Kaufmann	2	1753 Chur. Hofkammer
Zuzenhausen	Heinrich Landes der jung der Vater wohnt über 50 Jahre da	5	von Herr von Venningen zum Bürger und
	Heinrich Muselmann	7	ohmassl. Schutz
	Johannes Bechtel	7	
	Joh. G. Bechtel	5	1747 Chur. Hofkammer
Altwissloch	Michael Wagner	5	von Herrn v.
	Samuel Pletscher	2	Bettendorf u. Lützen
	Michael Bachmann	3	
	Jakob Frey	3	" "
Lautern			
Eselsfürth	Lorenz Walther	5	ohne Schutzbrief
Otterberg	Ulrich Lichti wohnt schon über 30 Jahr hier	6	" "
			" "
	Jakob Beutler	3	" "
Messerschwanderhof	Peter Rubel	2	
	Christian Rubel	2	" "
Hütherbrunnerhof	Johannes Fuchs	8	1751
Horterhof	Heinrich Borckholder	7	1752 von Geistl. Administration von Churf.
Imsweiler	Jakob Lichti Erbbeständer	6	Hofka
	Jakob Eymann [Heÿmann]	8	ohne Schutzbrief

Kühbörncheshof	Jakob Latschai 1st unverh.	1	von dem Hofkam.
	David Latschai Cameral-erbbest.	6	
	Der Vater hat. Hch. geheissen, hat 32 Jahre den Hof besessen, ist gestorben 1746		
Lichtenbruch	Johannes Jordty	5	
Enkenbach	Johannes Brennemann Erbbest.	5	von geist. Admin.
Lindenfels			
Lindenfels auf dem Schlossgut	Daniel Joder	7	von alten H.v. Uberbruck
Mossbach			
Hilsbach	Martin Behr	4	1736 vom Oberamt
Kirchhard	Heinrich Behr	7	1751 von tit. Cart. [zu Gehlinger]
Sinsheim	Christian Binkele	7	ohne Schutzbrief
	Samuel Frey Wittib	5	von geistl. Adm.
Richen	Martin Behr	8	1737 vom Oberamt
Unteramt Freinsheim			
Hessheim	Johannes Roths Wittib	6	1728 Chfst. Regg.
Ottersheim			
[Oberhessheim]	Franz Flory [Flori]	5	post annum 1744
Obersülzen	Heinrich Fried	7	ante annum 1744
	Jakob Hirstein	3	" "
	Jakob Schmittin	9	" "
	Jakob Blum Wittib	2	" "
	Ulrich Stauffer	3	" "
	Christian Stauffer	3	" "
Offstein	Heinrich Schneider	5	1725 vom Amt.
Heppenheim (a.d.w.)	Joh. Becker der alt	1	1711 " "
	Fried. Gramm	7	1736 " "
	Jac. [Isac] Hiestand	2	1740 Chfstl. Re-
	Christ. Roth	5	1745 gierung v. Ihro
	Joh. Krämer	5	" Chfstl. Dlcht.
	Gerh. Becker	4	1747 Chfst. Hof-
	Peter Becker	2	kam. 1752
Flomersheim	Joh. Steinmanns Witt.	2	ante annum 1744
	Heinr. Becker	3	" " "
Rodenbach	Joh. Sigrist	2	1744
	Joh. Christoffel	10	"
	Joh. Andreas der alt	—	
	Osw. Andreas	5	1748

Neustadt			
Branchweiler	Abrah. Egli [Ecklÿ]	10	Erbbeständer von
	J. J. Egli [Ecklÿ]	4	3 Familien und
	Jac. Dester	4	Jesuitae pro tertia
	Johannes Dester Wittib	5	generatione
	Johannes Ellenberger Wit.	7	"
	Christian Hege	6	"
Duttweiler	Johannes Lichti ist schon 13 Jahre hier		1740 v.d. Universität
Gönnheim	Abraham Ellenberger	11	ohne Hausgesinde Bürger u. Administration Beständer
Friedelsheim	Christian Peri[ü]	2	1751 v. hoher Regierung
	Johannes Schwarz	5	ohne Hausg. Bürger Adm. Best.
[Obschultheyss] [Oggersheim]			
Wachenheim	Jacob Strohm	3	1747 ohne Schutz.
	Jacob Bechtold [Bergtold]	10	v.d. Gr. v. Wartenberg
	Joh. Finger	5	1742
Mutterstadt	Jacob Kündig	6	1744 Hofstift
	Jacob Ruth ist vor 20 Jahren hierher gekommen	8	" Speÿer " "
	Jacob Danner	6	" "
Kohlhof	Joseph Berg	6	" "
	Jacob Blickensdärfer; sein Vater kam 1716 a. d. Hof	2	Erbbeständer v.d. Hffk.
Friesenheim	Christ. Stauffer	5	Freiherr v.
	Joh. Hackmann	9	Sickingen
	Heinr. Graf	2	[Cameral Best.]
	Adam Brennemann	5	"
	Samuel Oberholzers Witt.	4	ohne Schutzbrief
Hemshof	Johannes Deutsch seine Eltern u. Grosseltern haben schon hier gewohnt	5	ohne Schutzbrief
	Johannes Möllinger	2	" "
Gräfenau	Peter Graf	6	Cameral Best.
	Joh. Möllinger	4	" "
	Joh. Baumanns Wittib	3	ohne Schutz.
Petersau	Ulrich Hirschler	6	Jesuiter
Scharrau	Stephan Brennemann	2	
	Christian Hackmann	2	ohne Schutz.
Neustadt	Jakob Möllinger	16	" "
	Joseph Möllinger	8	" "
Böhl	Christian Bechtel	6	[tit. Brussel]
Mussbach	Joh. Jotter, dennen Tochter u. Tochtermann	4	ohne Schutz.

Eppstein	Heinrich Pletscher	6	Freÿherr v. Hund-
	Heinrich Rohr	6	heim
	Christian Kägy	7	" "
	Christian Jotter	6	" "
	Johannes Hertzler	4	" "
	Jakob Blickensdörfer	5	" "
	Christ. Stauffer	5	" "
	Christ. Neukumeter	4	" "
	Christ. Hirschberger	7	" "
	Jost Krehbühl	7	" "
	Christ. Gabel	6	" "
	Jacob Rohrs Wittib	6	" "
	Neukumeters Wittib	3	" "
	Christ. Kägy der junge	3	" "
Oggersheim	Jost Jotter	3	" "
	Val. Schmutz	5	" "
Waltzheim	Heinr. Sutter	6	ohne Schutz von H. Rat Langhanss
	Peter Andres	3	ohne Schutz. v. H. Rat Müller
Oppenheim			
Häuserhof	Jacob Joders Wittib	8	1746 v. Frau v. Haxthausen
Windhäuserhof	Jacob Steinmann	6	v. Freih. v. Greif-
Ellesh. Gemark	Blickensdörfer	4	fenglau
Heidelberg			hält sich f. vorsteh.
Augspfleghof bei			auf.
Schlierbach	Samuel Mayer	7	ohne Concession
Mannheim	Jakob Pletscher	5	ante annum 1744
	Christian Schuhmacher	3	" "
	Jakob Gräf	2	" "
	Johannes Bühler	3	" "
	Johannes Burckholder	4	" "
	Johannes Hassert	6	" "
	Konrad Gebers Wittib	4	" "
	Dávid Brechts Wittib	2	" "
	Abr. Hunzingers Wittib	2	" "
	Jak. Eichackers Wittib	2	" "
	Matthias Bonn	4	1747 v. hoher Reg.
	Christian Eicher	5	1747 "
	Friedrich Möllinger	3	1749 "
	Abraham Deutsch	9	1749 "
	Christian Neukumeter	4	1751 "
	Martin Möllinger	2	1753 "
	Johannes Hunzinger	2	1753 "
	Jakob Hackmann	2	ohne Schutz.
	Totale 150	1126	

NO. 19 1753-S

Pfalz Generalia, fasc. 4239, fol. 176/177

Specificatio

Deren in beyden Oberschultheyserey Ortschaften und höfen wohnenden Menonisten, die wedter von älterer-noch in anno 1744 neugnädigst regulirter Concession das geringste aufzuweisen vermögen, wohl aber angegeben haben wie und durch wen dieselbe auf ihre plätz bekommen und gesetzet worden seynd.

		zu wieviele Köpf deren familien bestehen
	zu Mutterstatt	
1.	**Jacob Kündig** zeiget ahn, dass er vor 20 jahren als knecht bey dem Wiedertäufer Vincent gedienet habe, weilen er aber vor 16 jahren sich verheyrathet, hätten Ihro Hochfürstlichen Gnaden zu Speyer unterm 8ten Juny 1744 ihme einen bestandbrief ertheilet, weiter etwas aufzuweisen wäre nicht vermögend, dessen familie bestehe dermahlen in	6 persohnen
2.	**Jacob Ruth** ist vor 20 jahren als das guth, dem freiherrn von Morass seelig zugehörig gewesen, nachher Mutterstatt gekommen, hat aber in anno 1744 gleich vorigen nemlichen bestand erhalten, seine haushaltung bestand anjetzo in	8 "
3.	**Jacob Danner** ledigen standts, hauset mit seiner Mutter, hat gleichfals nichts als vorangeführte bestand aufzuweisen, dessen angehörige bestehen in .	6 "
	Kohlloch bey der Rehütt	
1.	**Joseph Borg** hat vor zwantzig jahren einen Erbbestand von Churpfaltz hochloblichen Hofcammer empfangen dessen familie bestehet in	6 "
2.	**Jacob Linckensteffer** dessen Vatter in anno 1747 verheyrathet, hat gleichen Erbbestand wie voriget, seine angehörigen bestehen in	2 "
	zu Friessenheim	
1.	**Christian Staüffer** seine Eltern seyen auf den freyherrlichen von Sickingschen hof vor 40 jahren geniesen, worauf Er bis dato seye, auch wisse von keiner concession, dann freyherr von Sickingen Excellence ihme dahin gethan hätte, dessen Familie bestehe in	5 "
2.	**Jacob Hackmann** wohnet in nemlichem Hof, ist vor 8 jahren dahin von freyherr von Sickingen Excellence gesetzet worden hat	9 "
3.	**Heinrich Graff** wohnet in seinem aigenen haus, hat anno 1727 ein Cameral Erbbestandt guth erhalten, zu welchen er sein haus gekauft, seine Familie ist	2 "

4. **Adam Brennemann,** hat ein Cameral Erb-und Temporal bestand guth vor 20 jahr erhalten zu welchem er ein Haus gekauft, hat angehörige . . . . . 5 ”
5. **Samuel Oberholtzers** wittib ist vollig verarmet wohnet 10 jahr zu Friessenheim, hat an Kinder . . 3 ”

Hembshof

1. **Johannes Teutsch** ist auf dem Hembshof gebohren, dessen Eltern und Grosseltern alda gewohnet, habe Cameral Erbbestand guth und thue seine Mutter haushalten nebst ihme seyne . . . . . 5 ”
2. **Johannes Mehlinger** habe gleichfalls ein Cameral Erbbestand guth, welches von seinen Grosseltern ererbet dessen familie bestehet in . . . . . 1 frau

Grevenau

1. **Peter Graff** alda aufgezogen habe ein Cameral Erbbestand guth, dessen angehörige beständen dermahlen in . . . . . 6 persohnen
2. **Jacob Mehlinger,** seye auf dem Hembshof gezogen, habe aber in anno 1744 sich auf die grettenau verhayrathet, dessen Schwiegervatter ihme des Cameral-Erbbestands guth übertragen, er habe an Weib und Kinder . . . . . 3 ”
3. **Johann Baumanns** Wittib, wohne 8 jahr alda, treibe das weber-hand werk, habe kein haus noch güther, wohl aber schulden, und an Kinder . . . . . 2 ”

Peters-Aue

1. **Ulrich Hirschler** 21 jahre hierauf wohnhaft hat keine concession aufzuweisen, sondern ist von Herrn General von Beuterviz dahingesetzet worden, welchen die Herrn Patres Societatis Jesu annoch beybehalten, dessen angehörige würcklichen bestehen in . . . 6 ”

Scharr-Aue

1. **Stephann Brennemann** wohnet 7 Jahr alda, welchen Churfürstliche Hofcammer als temporal beständern dahin gesetzet habe . . . . . 2 ”
2. **Christian Hackmann,** ist mit anderen auf gleiche arth als Temporal beständer dahinkommen, und hatt in seiner familie . . . . . 2 ”

Summa 79 ”

Summa Summarum aller Wiedertäufer in beyder Oggersheimer und Rheingönheimer Oberschultheyserey ortschaften bestehet mit denen unterstrichener Männer und Wittwe

97 Köpfen

Oggersheim den 23 ten Januar 1753

Lanjus

NO. 20 1753-S

Pfalz Generalia, fasc. 4239, fol. 111/112

Verzeichnies.

Wieviel Menonisten oder Wiedertaufere in nachstehenden der Centh Kirchheim Dorfschaften, und Höfen wohnhaft, wieviel von der allen und wieviel seither der neuen unterm 17 ten Aprilis 1744 ertheilten concession angenommen worden, und in wieviel Köpfen jede familie bestehe.

	in wieviel Köpfen jede familie bestehet
Centh Kirchheim	
Werschauer Hof	
Abraham Bähr gebührtig von Griesenheim bey Mannheim hat den 20 ten Februar 1751 von Churfürstlichen Hochlöblicher Hofcammer seinen Schutzbrief erhalten und das jährliche Schutzgeld bezahlt, denen Familie bestehet in	3 "
Rohrbach	
Jacob Fellmann, hat anno 1744 als dessen Schwager Christian Staufer ins neue Landt gezogen, seinen Hofbestand angenommen, und ist in dessen platz gestanden, undt bieshero das jährliche Schutzgeldt zur gefällsverweserey Heydelberg abgetragen, aber bishero noch keinen schutzbrief erhalten, dessen familie sambt brodgesindt bestehet in	8 "
Bruchhaussen	
Melchior Fellmann, gebührtig zu Bruchhaussen, dessen Vatter vor 39 jahren schon alss Beständer dahin gezogen, ist nach absterben seines Vatters in seinen platz gestanden undt bishero das schutzgeldt richtig entrichtet, hat aber keinen Schutzbrief, weylen derren Vatter nach ihme einen solchen zu effectuiren jemahlen aufgebürdet worden, dessen familie sambt Brodgesinde bestehet dermahlen in	6 "
Johannes Büehler gebührtig auf dem Langenzeller Hof hat 7 jahr auf dem freyherren Danischen Hof zu Rohrbach, undt nunmehro 13 Jahr auf dem Bruchhausser Hof gewohnet undt hat bishero das jährliche schutzgeldt zur gefällverwehserung Heydelberg eingeliefert, ist ihme aber bies dato noch kein schutzbrief ertheilt-noch solchen zu erhalten auf gebürdet worden, dessen Familie sambt brodgesindt bestehet in	9 "
Johannes Bachmann, gebührtig(t) von Bruchhaussen, dessen Vatter auch von 39 Jahren schon auf diesem	

hof alss beständer gezogen, undt in dessen platz er nach absterben seines Vatters bekommen, hat einmahlen einen schutzbrief bekommen, das jahrliche aber zur gefällverweserey Heydelberg zu entrichten seyende schutzgeldt richtig bezahlt, dessen familie sambt brodgesindt bestehet in . . . . . 6 "

Johannes Graf gebührtig von Oppau, hat vor 2 Jahren des Melchior Hauri Wittib geheurathet, undt in dessen Hofbestand eingestanden, dessen Vatter seye auch vor 39 Jahren alss Beständer gezogen auf diessen Bruchhausser hof, undt bishero zur gefällverweesserey Heydelberg das jährliche schutzgeldt bezahlt, aber bies dato keinen schutzbrief erhalten, dessen familie sambt brodgesinde bestehet in . . . 7 "

Isaac Bähr gebührtig auf der Scharrau hat vor 2 Jahren des Daniel Hegi wittib zu Bruchhaussen geheurathet, derren erstgedachten Vorfahrer hat anno 1745 den 12 ten May von Churfürstlicher Hochlöblicher Hofcammer den Schutzbrief erhalten, undt seye ihme vor darauss einer würcklich vorfahren, undt hetten das schutzgeld bieshero richtig entrichtet, derren familie bestehet in . . . . . 4 "

Rohrhof

Johannes Schwartz, gebührtig auf dem Rohrhof, ist lauth dessen auftrag anno 1745 von Churfürstlicher hoher Regierung der schutz ertheilt worden, undt hat bies dato das jährliche schutz geld richtig entrichtet, dessen familie bestehet in . . . . . 5 "

Johannes Mellinger, gebührtig zu Friesenheim hat des Beständers Jacob Fellmanns alda Tochter geheurathet, undt wohnet bereits 2 Jahr auf dem Rohrhof undt weylen sein Vatter etliche 20 Jahr zu Friesenheim Eppstein gewohnet, undt den schutzbrief gehabt so seye ihme auch bishero solchen denovo zu effectuiren nit aufgebürdet worden, das jährliche schutzgeld aber habe er zur gefallverweserey Heydelberg richtig bezahlt, dessen familie bestehet in 3 "

Jacob Hackmann, dessen nun verstorbener Vatter ein Beständer auf dem Rohrhof gewesen, hat von seiner noch lebenden Mutter, undt Geschwistert ihren antheil hof übernommen, wohnet bereits ein halb jahr lang darauf, hat aber noch keinen schutzbrief von sich erhalten, dessen familie bestehet in . . . . . 5 "

Henrich Meyer ist gebührtig zu Mauer im Ambt Dillsberg, seiner profession ein schneider, dessen Vatter ist schon vor 33 Jahren auf diessen Hof gezogen, undt Bestandter da gewessen, undt wohnet schon bey 17 jahren, alda verheurathet, hat sein Schutzgeldt jährlich richtig bezahlt, aber noch niemahlen einen schutzbrief gehabt, dessen familie bestehet in 2 "

Jacob Funck, gebührtig zu Ruegen in der Ambtskellerey Hillspach, hat Johann Jacob Fellmans Wittib von Bruchhaussen vor 5 Jahren geheurathet, undt hat 4 Jahre alda alss beständer gewohnet, nunmehro aber bey einem Jahr ist er auf den Rohrhof gezogen, undt hat Johannes Fellmans wittib Erbbestandsguth in einem Temporal-bestandt angenommen, hat vor sich noch keinen schutzbrief, sondern ist in seines obgedachter Vorfahrers stelle, welcher einen schutzbrief unterm 6ten Juny 1746 von Churfürstlichen hochlöblicher Hofcammer erhalten, getretten, undt jederzeith des schutzgeldt bezahlt, dessen familie bestehet sambt brodgesindt in . . . . . 7 "

Eva Fellmans wittib, welche bey 30 Jahr auf diessem Hof als Beständerin wohnet, undt Ihr guth vor gedachtem Jacob Funckken verlehnet, hat weithers keinen schutzbrief, aber ihr schutzgeldt richtig bezahlt, deren familie bestehet in . . . . . 2 "

Wallddorf

Jacob Mussellmann, welcher statt seines Schwiegervatters Christian Fuckssen das freyherrn von Sickingsche guth bauet, ist lauth Churfurstlicher hochlöblicher Hofkammer befehls de dato 11 ten Aprilis 1750 der Schutz ertheilt worden, undt hat sein schutzgeldt richtig bezahlt, dessen familie sambt brodgesindte bestehet in . . . . . 9 "

Summa 76 "

Leÿmen, den 20ten
Januar 1759.

Dachert
Centhschreiber

Editor's Note: The archivist indicates that document No. 20 should be dated Januar, 1753. The date Januar, 1759 which appears at the end must therefore be in error. Only a recheck of the original can assure which is the correct date.

NO. 21 1753-S

Pfalz Generalia, fasc. 4239, fol. 13/14

Designatio*

Derenjenigen Menonisten, so seither der alt und neuen concession de anno 1744 angenohmen worden und von weme, auch wo selbige wohnhaft seynd, und in wieviel Köpf bestehen.

Köpf

Erbesbüdesheim

Jacob Eicher ist anno 1741 angenohmen worden, hat keinen Schutzbrief und bestehet dessen familie in 6

* Beilage zum Bericht der Oberamts Alzey vom 24. Jan. 1753—Archivist.

Johannes Schowalter hingegen in anno 1743 hat ebenfalls keinen Schutzbrief 5
Michael Andressen Wittib ist alt und hat schon lang alda gewohnet kan ebenfalls von ihrem verstorbenen Mann keinen Schutzbrief produciren, hat eine Tochter 2
Valentin Dahlmann in anno 1749 ohne Schutzbrief 2

Nack

Jacob Staufer in anno 1750 similiter 7
Christian Eymann ist in anno 1751 mittelst Schutzbriefs angenommen worden 5
Oswald Neefsen (Neff?) Wittib ist alt, und hat schon lange zeit zu Erbesbüdesheim gewohnet hat einen sohn, und eine Tochter Kann aber von Ihrem verstorbenen Mann keinen Schutz brief produciren 3

Auf dem Schniffenbergen Hof
Kriegsfelder Gemarckung

Jacob Heer ist in anno 1747 ohne Schutzbrief angenohmen worden 7
N. B.: Es sind alle vom letzt verstorbenen Oberambts keller Fischer angenohmen worden

Heppenheim

Sambtlich seynd annoch von der alten concession her
Johannes Rupp 6
Joh. Daniel Landes 8
Matheis Weber 2
Henrich Weber 4

Monzernheim

Conrad Kaysers Ehefrau hat sich post annum 1744 mittelst heyrathung des Conrad Kayser reformirte religion in loco wohnhaft gemacht 1

Osthoffen

diesse haben bereits vor dem 1744ten Jahre ihre concession erhalten
David Juzi 7
Michael Weis 3
Ullrich Hackmann 5
Jacob Weis 5

Ahlsheim

befinden sich von anno 1744 bis hero zu Alsheim
Daniel Schmid 7
Johannes Schmid 9
Christian Lenhard 6
Daniel Stauffers wittib 3

Übersheimer Hof
alte Beständer

Adam Brubacher 6
Jacob Brubachers wittib 4
Johannes Hackmann 7
Rudolph Neukommers wittib 2
Henrich Seitz 6
Rudolph Förrer 9

Christian Hiestand	6
Peter Buehler	5
Jacob Leysi	3
Michael Christoph	8
Christian Borcki	9
Johannes Förrer der alt	7

	Neu Beständer	
Jacob Rohrer eine wittib hat Ihren Ebbestand aber sich erheyrathet	"	5
Jacob Hackmann hat von seinem Vatter sein antheil hof ererbet	"	5
Ulrich Hackmannische Erben haben einen afterbeständer nahmens Henrich Borcki	"	6
Christian Brennemann afterbeständer von Christian Neukommend zu Mannheim, so den hof erkauft von Christian Stauffer so in Pennsylvanien gezogen	"	3
Jacob Borcky, so seinen hof erkaufet von Christian Stalti, so in Pensylvanien gezogen	"	6
Abraham Hackmann, welcher seinen Hof von seinem Vatter ererbet	"	4
Johannes Köhgi, so Abraham Seitzen wittib geheurathet	"	5
Jacob Hiestand, welcher den hof von seinem Vatter ererbet	"	3
Daniel Stauffer, so des Henrich Hackmanns wittib geheurathet	"	5
Henrich Stauffer, so seinen hof mit der frau, alss mit Erbbeständerin ahn sich erheyrathet	"	3
Christian Hackmann welcher den Hof von seinem Vatter	"	6
Johannes Förrer, welcher von seinem Vatter alss Erbbeständer zu Wettenheim wohnhaft, einstweylen in den hof eingesetzet worden	"	2

	Alte Beständere Köpf	Neue Beständere Köpf
Beysitzere zu Übersheim		
Andreas Schörck, ein weber, welcher vermög Ihrers alten Erbbestandes briefs von sambtlichen Hofleuthen angenommen worden	2	..
Jacob Müller, ein weber, welcher gleichfals vermög ihres alten Erbbestands briefs angenohmen worden	..	3
Christian Eschelmann, ein schneider, ein lediger mensch, so seine mutter bey sich hat, ebenfalls ut supra	..	2
Peter Landes der Kuhehirt similiter	..	4
Summa deren Übersheimer	74	63

Hamm		
Henrich Rohrers wittib	1	..
Spiesheim		
Henrich Hahnen wittib	..	..
Johannes Jacob Huthwohl	..	..
Johannes Weber	..	..
Peter Berg	..	..
Peter Berg der alte	..	..
Julius Biehn	..	..
Henrich Biehn	..	..
Diether Biehn	..	..
Daniel Bliehm, ein Wittiber	..	..
Flomborn		
Jacob Wohlgemuth in anno 1753	..	2
Oberflörsheim		
Jacob Dahl	9	..
Johannes Hahn	9	..
Arnold Krähmer	5	..
Wilhelm Krähmer	6	..
Christian Weber	6	..
Johannes Schmid	7	..
Peter Weber	6	..
Gundersheim		
Henrich Schmid senior	8	..
Henrich Schmid junior	6	..
Johannes Krähmer	4	..
Niederflörsheim		
Johannes Christophel in anno 1738	6	..
Kriegsheim		
Daselbsten seynd noch von denen alten nemblich vor 1744 wohnhaft		
Johannes Janzen	6	..
Henrich Strohm	4	..
Henrich Gramm	8	..
Johannes Strohm	5	..
David Huthwohl	7	..
Elisabetha Abraham Kolben wittib	5	..
Anna, Wilhelm Biehnen wittib.	4	..
Johannes Nold ist von Churfürstlicher hoher Regierung unterm 23ten May 1749 angenohmen worden	..	4
Peter Müller ist similiter von hoher Regierung angenohmen worden in anno 1750	..	2
Einselthumb		
Tobias Lichte	..	5
Offenheim		
Michael Boxler nebst frau und kindt hat auch seine alte Mutter bey sich, so sehr alt ist und keine gewerbschaft nicht treibet	3	..

Wollfsheim

Peter Böhmers wittib	4	..
Wendel Jantz	8	..
Mathias Weber alss Wittiber	1	..

Aspiesheim

Martin Bliehm	4	..
Johannes und Peter Fried, ledigen stands, werden für eine haushaltung angezogen . . .	1	..

BOOK REVIEW

Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum. By W. Wiswedel. J. G. Oncken Publishing House. Kassel, Germany. Vol. I, 1928, 194 pages; Vol. II, 1930, 212 pages, 3 plates.

Although these two volumes were published long ago they have not received the attention in this country which they deserve. So it is with great pleasure that I recommend this important work, which presents an abundance of new or only partly known material treating it in an attractive and sympathetic manner. Once completed, this work will be a comprehensive presentation of the genuine Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century with all its suffering and its witnessing for a true evangelical Christianity. Due to the loose relations of the different groups there was no sufficient knowledge about the conformity of these movements. The valuable special literature is widely dispersed and lacks a synoptic treatment. Wiswedel achieves this synthetic task by a series of fascinating "pictures." So we get a real survey of the entire promising but tragic phenomenon, the "fourth reformation," as it was called sometimes, besides Luther, Zwingli and Calvin.

We may omit here the first chapters dealing with the spiritual preparations and the picture of related contemporaries, like Thomas Müntzer. His teaching of resignation (Gelassenheit) and the necessity of emulating the life of what he calls "the bitter Christ" no doubt had a great influence upon the Anabaptists. But he eventually followed a very different course, and Wiswedel shows the error in regarding the Anabaptists as followers of Müntzer. Also Karlstadt's ideas of a new liturgy as well as his "puritanism" (H. Barge) are but superficially related to our subject proper. The same is true of the Peasant's War, to which Wiswedel devotes one chapter, although it has some importance as a sociological background. But social and economic factors were not decisive for Anabaptism and the famous Twelve Articles of the peasants were neither made nor inspired by Hubmaier, as has sometimes been said. The Anabaptists looked for a radical religious revival and not primarily for some social changes.

It must be regretted that Wiswedel does not treat fully the genuine beginning of the Anabaptist movement in Zürich. His main interest in the first volume is to show the heroic struggle for life of Anabaptism against the state church in Germany and its secular supporters. So Wiswedel puts nearly in the center of his treatment the fundamental controversy with Luther and Melanchthon. Doing so he could not completely avoid some polemic in treating this issue, but he argues very soberly with scientific evidence, clearing up the historical situation. Luther's greatest concern was his new "state church" while the power of Anabaptism was the absolute and dynamic faith in the evangelical tidings of God's kingdom. The pattern of faith becomes the central point of the whole dispute. Luther and Melanchthon admitted several times a certain toleration, but it had to be without causing "disorder and flocking together"

(*Zusammenrottung*),[1] that means without true witnessing in action. But a faith without such realization is not a living one; it could be at the best a private conviction. There is an extensive literature on the toleration issue in the age of the Reformation, and Luther's severe verdicts and sayings, hard to understand, have been either apologized for or sometimes historically explained or also condemned, just according to the viewpoint of the respective author. No doubt it is a fine achievement by Wiswedel to have collected the main source material of that kind under the heading of Anabaptist-history. It gives us the opportunity of an independent survey and stimulates new questions. For instance, it is surprising to learn in detail that the Reformers' main argument for bloody persecution was the rejection of the office of the ministry (*Predigtamt*) by the Anabaptists. "Wiewohl es grausam anzusehen ist, dass man sie mit dem Schwerte strafe, so ist es doch grausamer, dass sie das Predigtamt verdammen" (Luther, 1531).—"Der Glaube kommt aus dem Gehör, das ist aus der Predigt oder aus dem äusserlichen Worte. Darum ist Verachtung des äusserlichen Wortes eitel Gotteslästerung, welche die weltliche Obrigkeit zu strafen schuldig ist" (Melanchthon, 1536). In the struggle against Anabaptism Luther has given the main slogans: in his "Commentary on the 82nd Psalm" he refers for the first time to Leviticus 24:16, calling Anabaptism no longer heresy but blasphemy, which calls for capital punishment. Melanchthon followed him in this line up to his pamphlet of 1557 "Prozess wie es soll gehalten werden mit den Wiedertäufern."[2] A good many recent Lutheran church historians, like Köhler, Wappler, etc., have frankly conceded these mistakes and so opened a new way to mutual understanding.

In the following pages Wiswedel shows the incredible martyrdom of the Anabaptists and their courage and steadfastness of confession. He shows the evangelical attitude of their teachers and bishops, and the moral power even of the humblest brother. Many selected and hitherto nearly unknown sources are a real asset; they demonstrate obviously that the spirit of the Anabaptists—or as Luther has mockingly called them, "enthusiasts"—had really close relations to that which had produced the Holy Scripture. (Controversy against Holl, who in his book "Luther," . . . 1923; page 566, declined it.) We find various confessions of faith, letters out of prison, a sermon on repentance, the long and nearly unnoticed epistle from Wolfgang Vogel 1526, which was reprinted in the time of Pietism, theological tracts, e. g. by Hans Denck, and finally canticles; they all bear the same evangelical spirit.

In the first volume, Wiswedel gives further on a series of independent pictures from the two important decades 1525 to 1545, which in their totality present a moving and uniform history of power and loyalty. Thuringia, Hesse and Franconia are the main scenes of the general description; men like Hans Denck, Hans Hut, Wolfgang Vogel and the like are given special monographs. But the most suggestive

1. Cf. Luther's *Werke,* Erlangen edition, vol. 39, p. 251.

2. Cf. Bossert, *Wiedertäuferakten von Württemberg,* pages 161-168, under the caption "Bedenken."

chapter of this volume, leading right into the core of Anabaptism, deals with Peter Riedemann, the well known Hutterian author of the large "Confession of faith," written in prison at Marburg 1540. Wiswedel sums up its essence by saying (p. 185): "Justification must be followed by sanctification, the confession of faith by a divine life in emulation of Jesus. If that is lacking the faith is only fictitious" (according to Thomas Müntzer's expression). "Der rechte Glaube ist eine wirkliche Gotteskraft, die den Menschen erneuert und macht ihn nach Gott artnen, lebendig in seiner Gerechtigkeit und feurig in der Liebe und in der Haltung seiner Gebote." (Riedemann). These words may be supplemented by another passage drawn from Hans Denck: "Christum vermag niemand wahrlich zu erkennen, es sei denn, dass er ihm nachfolge im Leben. So wir noch im alten Leben liegen, glauben wir noch nicht gewisslich." That was the spirit of Anabaptism.

The second volume continues this line. As it deals no more with polemic controversies, but gives only the stories and thoughts of the brethren themselves, it surpasses the first one. Indeed, it fills a gap in our historic literature with great objectivity and broadmindedness, on the basis of a deeply-rooted Christianity.

Once more Wiswedel treats his material by countries. This time he gives an account of the movement in South Bavaria and Austria where especially the Hutterites attract our attention. It is known that their centers were Moravia and the Tyrol, but their missionaries were busy everywhere in South Germany and the Rhineland, and the remains of their activities are still traceable there. In preparing this study Wiswedel found a mine of source material in the literary remains of Joseph Beck in the Landesarchiv in Brünn, Moravia. This scholar, a judge by profession, had devoted his life to the collection of all the available Anabaptist material, even the remotest, but he never came to publish anything except the well known *Geschichtbücher der österreichischen Wiedertäufer* (Wien, 1883). Since then scholars have made abundant use of that rich treasure which opens new discoveries even to the expert. Surely it will do so again in the future. Now Wiswedel gives us a glimpse into this precious material and what it stands for, both for historians as well as for earnest Christians.

The evangelical Anabaptist movement was chiefly anonymous, and the individual as such was not overemphasized. It was a genuinely popular movement, with but little theological erudition; and that may have been one of the reasons why contemporary scholars were inclined to belittle and neglect it. Nevertheless one can not help but feel that there has passed one of the finest fruits that we owe to German piety. But it was nearly annihilated by every available means, not because of fear of a physical revolution (everybody knew the differences between them and the Münsterites), but because of its pattern of evangelic faith beyond compromise, which in the end would mean a more effective revolution than any political upheaval. It reminds us of the fate of the primitive church. The thesis of Troeltsch is still valid that the "bill of rights" does not derive ideologically from official Protestantism but from the Anabaptists, hated by it and driven away to America's shore. Even Holl concedes that the vanquished of the past are the victors of the present.

What effective alarm of conscience might it have been, if e. g. a brother declined to indulge in merely a curse, "ja nur ein kleines Flüchel," to prove his worldliness and to get free. "Aber er wollte es nicht tun aus göttlicher Liebe, sondern er litt eher den bitteren Tod." (Geschicht-Buch der hutterischen Brüder, ed. Wolkan, p. 266).

It is impossible to give here an adequate impression of the entire contents, and only a few traits can be drawn for further consideration. In the early time two Catholic priests from Upper-Austria were converted to the new way about 1526/27 and suffered martyrdom very soon after: Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer. Their writings are still preserved in Hutterite manuscript-books, and represent unusually significant documents. They stress more than any other the mystical side which Rufus M. Jones has first discovered in this movement,[3] but without knowing this material. There was a rumor that Leonhard Schiemer gave to the people some drink out of a secret bottle (Fläschl) to bring them into his charm and to entice them. "Well," answered Schiemer, "that is true, I admit that they may call it a bottle. Who drinks from it becomes changed. But the drink in this bottle is nothing else than a pounded, powdered, brayed and grieved heart, crushed with the mortar of the cross. St. Peter tells us of that bottle: 'Christ has suffered in the flesh for us, so ye be armed with the same spirit, for he who suffers in the flesh stops sinning.' And Isaiah speaks of that bottle: 'Ye are drunk but not with wine.' There are many sayings concerning that bottle or cup. For this moment I call it bottle: like as a bottle is narrow and thin on the top, so the new life is in its beginning full of fear and agony, but as soon as one has passed this agony, the bottle becomes large in its middle part, that means God now greatly comforts the man . . . . It is not enough to hear God's word bodily (äusserlich), one must also have the true light of the Holy Ghost in himself. For Christ must be born in us, and he who does not lead a new life in Christ, may not lie that he was reborn a second time. It is true that Christ's suffering discharges our sins, but He has to suffer in me, like as water can not quench my thirst I would not drink it and bread can not still my hunger I would not eat it. So Christ's suffering does not hinder me to keep sinning as long as He does not suffer within me. Whoever does not have Christ in himself can not believe Him truly." In a similar way Hans Schlaffer points out: "Even if Christ had died a hundred times, it would be no help as long as one does not know the spiritual Christ in us. Whoever comes into Hell with Christ and in Christ, the same will be led out again with Christ. Whoever thinks that faith in Christ be enough, undoes Christ and does not confess Him. They like to have the sweetest from Christ, but they refuse to accept His suffering." These mystical ideas of being crucified with Christ, having died and risen up with Him, are very significant indeed for the early Anabaptist leaders. Justification, of which they do not speak so much, and sanctification belong closely together. Christ's righteousness is nothing but Christ in us. His work of love for us and in us coincides as a miracle of grace. One can not separate faith and life. But on the other hand the Anabaptists knew very well that suffering for its

3. *Studies in Mystical Religion,* New York, 1909.

own sake cannot redeem any from sin. They never taught this, but only stressed the blessing of the cross as the touchstone of a true discipleship. "A man has not the name of Christ by means of baptism but from life. Baptism as it is does not make a man pious as long as a living faith is lacking." (Klaus Felbiger in his confession).

One should read a tract like Schlaffer's "Testament and Abscheid" as a whole to appreciate the depth of this unique dispute of a soul in its distress with God (it reminds one of St. Augustine's Confessions) and to understand the moving farewell-prayer at the end of this tract.[4] One ought also to know the way Klaus Felbiger stood up for his faith, so that even the judge had to concede: "I think there is no one in hundreds who could justify his position as well as you do." Wiswedel has given an impressive abstract of these writings.

Furthermore many letters to the community sent out of prison in the agony of death make a lasting impression in their resignation and certainty of God. "Liebe Brüder und Schwestern, der Herr hat mir nun Feierabend gegeben (= cessation from work). Nun will ich mich stärken mit der Gnade im Herrn, und will den Herrn bitten, dass er noch fleissigere Arbeiter in seinen Weingarten sende als ich bin. Gott sei mir gnädig." (Schiemer on the eve of his execution.)

One chapter of particular interest tells us the story of a group of poor emigrants from Moravia, captured in 1535 and thrown into a dark dungeon at Passau on the Danube (Bavaria) because of their faith. They had to stand hard tests in their subterranean jail, but they overcame them and a series of stirring canticles still gives proof of that experience. It became the primal form of the well known hymnbook, the *Ausbund*[5] of which Wiswedel finally says: "Hymns of praise in the night of severest suffering, it is a world of God's miracle. Not complaining but praying and singing: so these true witnesses of Christ met the saddest death."

Of course that readiness to suffer and die was not easily achieved. Here and there we read of victories over all worldly slackness, for instance in the extraordinary report of the execution of Georg Wagner in Munich, of whom the Chronicles say: "There was such a joy of Christ in him, that he did not turn pale in his face, his eyes were not scared, and he went to the stake with laughing mouth." (Wolkan, *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* p. 51.) But we learn just as often of hard struggles against temptation and weakness. "If you knew my anguish you would have pity on me" writes Klaus Felbiger.

Astonishing is the variety of these pictures. We find the story of the so-called martyr-synod at Augsburg 1527 with Hans Denck as leader, most of whose members finally found a martyr's death. We learn of a public sermon in Augsburg which an Anabaptist brother gave from the pulpit and which moved the audience to such an extent that someone exclaimed: "It must be God's grace or the devil's ghost, as that man has made such a fine speech to this people as I have never

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4. Schiemer's and Schlaffer's tracts are now edited by Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnten.* Leipzig, 1938. A review of this book will follow.

5. Cf. Harold S. Bender, "The first edition of the *Ausbund," Mennonite Quarterly Review,* (1929), Vol. III, pp. 147-8.

heard before." We learn of missionaries throughout the countries composing hymns on the road or writing letters to their churches at home which for the most part they did not see again. We learn of catchpolls (constables) who thought it a pity to send such Christians to executions. We learn of a series of interpretations of the Lord's prayer produced in jails, and finally we learn of the rapturous effect of all these witnesses. Two Anabaptist brethren independently made the same confession: "If I knew a people more pious I would go and seek it. But I don't know a people on the whole world more pious than that and I have no doubt that it is the true people of God." Considering all these facts we are no longer surprised as the well known canon of Augsburg, Faber von Heilbronn, who in 1550 wrote a pamphlet under the title: "Woher es entspringt dass die Wiedertäufer also fröhlich und getrost die Pein des Todes leiden."

Wiswedel has planned a five volume treatment of Anabaptist history in "pictures." The first volume mainly deals with controversies and polemics, the second one tells us of martyrdom and loyalty, the next one should report more of the community life and fellowship, e. g. the worship and teaching of the Anabaptists as well as their achievement in the economic field and domestic work. Especially the Hutterites open a wide scope of interest with regard to their colonies once in Moravia, now in Canada. Unfortunately the German situation during the last decade prevented the continuation of Wiswedel's plan, the manuscript of which is already well advanced. It is my hope that an English translation of the two volumes may be published in this country. Wiswedel himself is a Baptist preacher; it might well be a common concern of Baptist and Mennonite groups to promote such an enterprise, which would not only benefit the historian but would also provide new impulses for everybody to reconsider his heritage for building up a better, that is a more religious, future.

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